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TRAVELS

IN

CHINA,

CONTAINING

DESCRIPTIONS, OBSERVATIONS, AND COMPARISONS, MADE AND COLLECTED IN THE COURSE OF A SHORT RESIDENCE AT THE IMPERIAL PALACE OF YUEN-MIN-YUEN, AND ON A SUBSEQUENT JOURNEY THROUGH THE COUNTRY FROM

PEKIN TO CANTON.

IN WHICH IT IS ATTEMPTED TO APPRECIATE THE RANK THAT THIS EXTRAORDINARY EMPIRE MAY BE CONSIDERED TO HOLD IN THE SCALE OF CIVILIZED NATIONS.

"NON CUIVIS HOMINI CONTINGIT ADIRE *CORINTHUM.*"
It is the lot of few to go to PEKIN.

By JOHN BARROW, Esq.

LATE PRIVATE SECRETARY TO THE EARL OF MACARTNEY, AND ONE OF HIS SUITE AS AMBASSADOR FROM THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN TO THE EMPEROR OF CHINA.

ILLUSTRATED WITH SEVERAL ENGRAVINGS.

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THE EARL OF MACARTNEY, K. B.

ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL,
&c. &c. &c.

THIS VOLUME OF TRAVELS IN CHINA, *&c.*

IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,

BY

HIS MOST FAITHFUL

AND OBLIGED HUMBLE SERVANT,

JOHN BARROW.

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THE ſentiments advanced in the preſent Work, and the point of view in which ſome of the facts are conſidered, being ſo very different from the almoſt univerſally received opinion, and ſome of them from the opinion of thoſe to whoſe friendſhip the Author is particularly indebted for various literary communications, he thinks it right to declare, that they are the unbiaſſed concluſions of his own mind, founded altogether on his own obſervations; and he truſts that the Public, in conſidering him alone reſponſible, will receive them with its uſual candour.

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country, as far as regards the fifteen ancient provinces, is ſubject to little variation, and eſpecially thoſe parts over which the grand inland navigation is carried; the only parts, in fact, that foreigners travelling in China have any chance of viſiting.

In this route no very great variety nor number of ſubjects occur in the department of natural hiſtory. Few native plants, and ſtill fewer wild animals, are to be expected in thoſe parts of a country that are populous and well cultivated. Indeed the rapid manner in which the preſent journey was made, was ill ſuited for collecting and examining ſpecimens even of thoſe few that did occur.

On theſe conſiderations it is hoped that the indulgence of the reader will not be withheld, where information on ſuch points may appear to be defective. A French critic * (perhaps without doing him injuſtice he may be called a hypercritic) who happened to viſit Canton for a few months, ſome fifty years ago, has, with that happy confidence peculiar to his nation, not only pointed out the errors and defects of the information communicated to the world by the Engliſh and the Dutch embaſſies, but has laid down a ſyllabus of the ſubjects they ought to have made themſelves completely acquainted with, which, inſtead of ſeven months, would ſeem to require a reſidence of ſeven years in the country. But the author of the preſent work reſts his confidence in the Engliſh critics being leſs unreaſonable in their demands; and that their indulgences will be proportioned to the difficulties that occurred in collecting accurate information.

* Monſieur (I beg his pardon) *Citoyen* Charpentier Coſſigny.

With

With this reliance, the deſcriptions, obſervations, and compariſons, ſuch as they are, he preſents to the public, candidly acknowledging that he is actuated rather by the hope of meeting its forbearance, than by the confidence of deſerving its approbation.

Perhaps it may not be thought amiſs, before he enters on the more immediate ſubject of the work, to correct, in this place, a very miſtaken notion that prevailed on the return of the embaſſy, which was, that an unconditional compliance of Lord Macartney with all the humiliating ceremonies which the Chineſe might have thought proper to exact from him, would have been productive of reſults more favourable to the views of the embaſſy. Aſſertions of ſuch a general nature are more eaſily made than refuted, and indeed unworthy of attention; but a letter of a French miſſionary at Pekin to the chief of the Dutch factory at Canton is deſerving of ſome notice, becauſe it ſpecifies the reaſons to which, according to the writer's opinion, was owing the ſuppoſed failure of the Britiſh embaſſy. In ſpeaking of this ſubject he obſerves, "Never was an embaſſy deſerving of "better ſucceſs! whether it be conſidered on account of the "experience, the wiſdom, and the amiable qualities of Lord "Macartney and Sir George Staunton; or of the talents, the "knowledge, and the circumſpect behaviour of the gentlemen "who compoſed their Suite; or of the valuable and curious "preſents intended for the Emperor—and yet, ſtrange to tell, "never was there an embaſſy that ſucceeded ſo ill!

"You may be curious, perhaps, to know the reaſon of an "event ſo unfavourable and ſo extraordinary. I will tell you "in

" in a few words. Theſe gentlemen, like all ſtrangers, who " know China only from books, were ignorant of the manner " of proceeding, of the cuſtoms and the etiquette of this court; " and, to add to their misfortune, they brought with them a " Chineſe interpreter ſtill leſs informed than themſelves. The " conſequence of all which was that, in the firſt place, they " came without any preſents for the Miniſter of State, or for " the ſons of the Emperor. Secondly, they refuſed to go " through the uſual ceremony of ſaluting the Emperor, with- " out offering any ſatisfactory reaſon for ſuch refuſal. Thirdly, " They preſented themſelves in clothes that were too plain, " and too common. Fourthly, They did not uſe the precaution " to fee (graiſſer la patte) the ſeveral perſons appointed to the " ſuperintendance of their affairs. Fifthly, Their demands " were not made in the tone and ſtyle of the country. Ano- " ther reaſon of their bad ſucceſs, and, in my mind, the prin- " cipal one, was owing to the intrigues of a certain miſſionary, " who, imagining that this embaſſy might be injurious to the " intereſts of his own country, did not fail to excite unfavour- " able impreſſions againſt the Engliſh nation."

The points of failure enumerated in this letter of Monſieur Grammont, were ſo many ſpurs to the Dutch factory to try their ſucceſs at the court of Pekin the following year. No ſooner did Mr. Van Braam receive this diſpatch, by the return of the Engliſh embaſſy to Canton, than he prepared a letter for the Commiſſaries General at Batavia, in which he informed them, that as it was the intention of the different nations who had factories eſtabliſhed in Canton, to ſend embaſſadors to the capital,

Capital, for the purpoſe of congratulating the Emperor on his attaining the age of eighty-four years, which would be in the ſixtieth year of his reign, he had reſolved to proceed on ſuch a miſſion on the part of the Batavian Republic, and requeſted that he might be furniſhed, without delay, with ſuitable credentials. To this application the Commiſſaries General, who had been ſent out the ſame year to retrench the expences of the Company in their Indian ſettlements, and to reform abuſes, returned for anſwer, That, "however low and inadequate their "finances might be to admit of extraordinary expences, yet "they deemed it expedient not to ſhew any backwardneſs in "adopting ſimilar meaſures to thoſe purſued by other Euro-"peans trading to China; and that they had, accordingly, "nominated Mr. Titſingh as chief, and himſelf (Mr. Van "Braam) as ſecond Embaſſador to the Court of China."

Mr. Titſingh loſt no time in repairing to Canton, and theſe two Embaſſadors, determining to avail themſelves of the hints thrown out in Monſieur Grammont's letter, and thereby to avoid ſplitting on the ſame rock which, they took for granted, the Britiſh Embaſſador had done, cheerfully ſubmitted to every humiliating ceremony required from them by the Chineſe, who, in return, treated them in the moſt contemptuous and indignant manner. At Canton they were ordered to aſſiſt in a ſolemn proceſſion of Mandarines to a temple in the neigbourhood, and there, before the Emperor's name, painted on cloth, and ſuſpended above the altar, to bow their heads nine times to the ground, in token of gratitude for his great condeſcenſion in permitting them to proceed to his preſence, in order to offer

him tribute. They ſubmitted even to the demands of the ſtate-officers of Canton, that the letter, written by the Commiſſaries General at Batavia to the Emperor of China, and tranſlated there into the Chineſe language, ſhould be broke open, and the contents read by them; and that they ſhould further be allowed to make therein ſuch alterations and additions as they might think proper. The Embaſſador, reſolving not to be wanting in any point of civility, requeſted to know when he might have the honour of paying his reſpects to the Viceroy; and received for anſwer, that the cuſtoms of the country did not allow a perſon in his ſituation to come within the walls of the Viceroy's palace, but that one of his officers ſhould receive his viſit at the gate; which viſit *to the gate* was literally made. Mr. Van Braam, in relating this circumſtance in his journal, obſerves, that the Viceroy "aſſured his Excellency, he "ought not to take his refuſal amiſs, as the ſame terms had "been preſcribed to Lord Macartney the preceding year." Mr. Van Braam knew very well that Lord Macartney never ſubjected himſelf to any ſuch refuſal; and he knew too, that the ſame Viceroy accompanied his Lordſhip in a great part of his journey from the Capital: that he partook of a repaſt, on the invitation of Lord Macartney, at the Britiſh factory; when, for the firſt time, both Mr. Van Braam and the ſupercargoes of all the European nations had been permitted to ſit down in the preſence of one of his rank.

At Pekin they were required to humiliate themſelves at leaſt thirty different times, at each of which they were obliged, on their knees, to knock their heads nine times againſt the ground, which

which Mr. Van Braam, in his journal, very coolly calls, performing the ſalute of honour, "*faire le ſalut d'honneur.*" And they were finally diſmiſſed, with a few paltry pieces of ſilk, without having once been allowed to open their lips on any kind of buſineſs; and without being permitted to ſee either their friend Grammont, or any other European miſſionary, except one, who had ſpecial leave to make them a viſit of half an hour, the day before their departure, in preſence of ten or twelve officers of government. On their arrival in this Capital they were lodged, literally, in a ſtable; under the ſame cover, and in the ſame apartment, with a parcel of cart-horſes. Mr. Van Braam's own words are, "*Nous voila donc à notre arrivée* "*dans la celèbre reſidence impériale, logés dans une eſpèce d'écurie.* "*Nous ſerions nous attendus à une pareille avanture!*"

After ſuch a vile reception and degrading treatment of the Dutch Embaſſy, what advantages can reaſonably be expected to accrue from a ſervile and unconditional compliance with the ſubmiſſions required by this haughty government? It would rather ſeem that their exactions are proportioned to the complying temper of the perſons with whom they have to treat. For it appears, not only from Mr. Van Braam's own account of the Embaſſy, but alſo from two manuſcript journals in the Author's poſſeſſion, one kept by a Dutch gentleman in the ſuite, and the other by a native Chineſe, that the Embaſſadors from the Batavian Republic were fully prepared to obviate every difficulty that might ariſe from the ſuppoſed points of failure in the Britiſh Embaſſy, as ſtated to their notice by M. Grammont. In the firſt place, they not only carried

preſents for the Miniſters of State, but they calmly ſuffered theſe gentlemen to trick them out of the only curious and valuable articles among the preſents intended for the Emperor, and to ſubſtitute others, of a mean and common nature, in their place. Secondly, they not only complied with going through the uſual ceremony of ſaluting the Emperor, but alſo of ſaluting the Emperor's name, painted on a piece of ſilk, at leaſt fifty times, on their journey to and from the Capital: which degrading ceremony they even condeſcended to perform before the perſon of the Prime Miniſter. With regard to the third point, it certainly appears that no expence had been ſpared in providing themſelves with ſplendid robes for the occaſion; but, unfortunately, they had but few opportunities of making uſe of them, their baggage not arriving at the Capital till many days after they had been there. Nor does it ſeem that the dreſs of a foreign Embaſſador is conſidered of much conſequence in the eyes of the Chineſe; for, when theſe gentlemen wiſhed to excuſe themſelves from going to court, on account of their duſty and tattered clothes, in which they had performed a moſt painful journey, the Maſter of the Ceremonies obſerved, that it was not their *dreſs*, but their *perſons*, which the Emperor, his maſter, was deſirous to ſee. And, it can hardly be ſuppoſed, they would omit obſerving the fourth article, which, Mr. Grammont is of opinion, was neglected by Lord Macartney. And, in the laſt place, they ſtand fully acquitted of any want of *humility* in the tone and ſtyle of their communications, after having allowed their credentials to be new modelled by the officers of Government at Canton; from which city they had alſo an interpreter, a very proper one, no doubt, appointed to attend them.

Their miſſion, it is true, was not well calculated for making terms or rejecting propoſals. The Chineſe were not unacquainted with the declining finances of the Dutch; they knew very well that the embaſſy had originated in Canton, and that it was accredited only from their ſuperiors in Batavia. In their journey they were haraſſed beyond meaſure; ſometimes they were lodged in wretched hovels, without furniture and without cover; ſometimes they were obliged to paſs the night in the open air, when the temperature was below the freezing point; frequently for four and twenty hours they had nothing to eat. Van Braam obſerves that, owing to the fatigues of the journey, the badneſs of the victuals, their early riſing and expoſure to the cold, he loſt about five inches in the circumference of his body. Being rather corpulent, and not very expert in performing the Chineſe ceremony at their public introduction, his hat happened to fall on the ground, upon which the old Emperor began to laugh. "Thus," ſays he, "I received a mark of diſ-"tinction and predilection, ſuch as never Embaſſador was ho-"noured with before. I confeſs," continues he, "that the recol-"lection of my ſufferings from the cold in waiting ſo long in the "morning, was very much ſoftened by this incident." No man will certainly envy this gentleman's happy turn of mind, in receiving ſo much ſatisfaction in being laughed at.

The tone of the Emperor's letter, with which they were diſmiſſed, while it ſpeaks the vain and arrogant ſentiments of this haughty government, ſhews at the ſame time how well acquainted they were with the circumſtances that gave riſe to the miſſion, and the degree of eſtimation in which they held it. It

was

was written in the Tartar, Chineſe, and Latin languages, from the laſt of which, as rendered by the miſſionaries, the following is a literal tranſlation. The contents were addreſſed to the Council of India, but on the outſide wrapper, "*To the King of* "*Holland.*" It may ſerve at the ſame time as a ſpecimen of Chineſe compoſition.

"I have received from heaven the ſceptre of this vaſt empire. "I have reigned for ſixty years with glory and happineſs; and "have eſtabliſhed the moſt profound peace upon the four "ſeas* of the ſaid empire, to the benefit of the nations bor- "dering upon them. The fame of my majeſty and proofs of "my magnificence have found their way into every part of the "world, and they conſtitute the pride and the pleaſure of my "vaſt domains.

"I conſider my own happy empire, and other kingdoms, "as one and the ſame family; the princes and the people are, "in my eye, the ſame men. I condeſcend to ſhed my bleſſings "over all, ſtrangers as well as natives; and there is no country, "however diſtant, that has not received inſtances of my bene- "volence. Thus, all nations ſend to do me homage, and to "congratulate me inceſſantly. New and ſucceſſive Embaſſadors "arrive, ſome drawn in chariots over land, and others traverſe, "in their ſhips, the immenſity of the ſeas. In fact, I attend

* This expreſſion alludes to the ancient opinion that China was ſurrounded by the ſea, and that the reſt of the world was made up of iſlands. Yet though they now poſſeſs a tolerable notion of geography, ſuch is their inveterate adherence to ancient opinion, that they prefer retaining the moſt abſurd errors, rather than change one ſingle ſentiment or expreſſion that Confucius has written.

"to

" to nothing but the good adminiſtration of my empire. I feel " a lively joy in obſerving the anxiety with which they flock " together from every quarter to contemplate and admire the " wiſe adminiſtration of my government. I experience the " moſt agreeable ſatisfaction in participating my happineſs " with foreign ſtates. I applaud therefore your government, " which, although ſeparated from mine by an immenſe ocean, " has not failed to ſend me congratulatory letters, accompanied " with tributary offerings.

" Having peruſed your letters, I obſerve that they contain " nothing but what I conſider as authentic teſtimonies of your " great veneration for me, from whence I conclude that you " admire my mode of governing. In fact, you have great " reaſon to applaud me. Since you have carried on " your trade at Canton, (and it is now many years,) ſtrangers " have always been well treated in my empire; and they have " individually been the objects of my love and affection. I " might call to witneſs the Portugueſe, the Italians, the Engliſh, " and others of the ſame ſort of nations, who are all equally " eſteemed by me, and have all preſented me with pre- " cious gifts. All have been treated, on my part, after the " ſame manner, and without any partiality. I give abundantly " even when thoſe things I received from them are of no " value. My manner of doing theſe things is undoubtedly " known in your country.

" Concerning your Embaſſador, he is not, properly ſpeaking, " ſent by his King; but you, who are a company of merchants,

" have

" have ſuppoſed yourſelves authorized to pay me this reſpect. " Your Sovereign, however, having directed you to chuſe a fa- " vourable moment of my reign, you have now ſent to felicitate me " accordingly in the name of your ſaid Sovereign. The ſixtieth " year of my reign was about to be completed. You, a com- " pany, too diſtant from your Sovereign, could not announce it " to him. Interpreting this to be his pleaſure, you have under- " taken to ſend, in his name, to do me homage; and I have no " doubt this prince is inſpired towards me with the ſame ſenti- " ments which I have experienced in you. I have, therefore, " received your Embaſſador as if he had been ſent immediately " by his King. And I am deſirous you ſhould be made ac- " quainted that I have remarked nothing in the perſon of your " Embaſſador, but what bore teſtimony of his reſpect for me, " and of his own good conduct.

" I commanded my great officers to introduce him to my " preſence. I gave him ſeveral entertainments, and permitted " him to ſee the grounds and the palaces that are within my vaſt " and magnificent gardens of *Yuen min Yuen*. I have ſo-acted " that he might feel the effects of my attention, dividing with " him the pleaſures which the profound peace of my empire " allows me to enjoy. I have, moreover, made valuable pre- " ſents, not only to him, but alſo to the officers, interpreters, " ſoldiers, and ſervants of his ſuite, giving them, beſides what " is cuſtomary, many other articles, as may be ſeen by the " catalogue.

" Your

" Your Embaſſador being about to return to the preſence of " his ſovereign, I have directed him to preſent to this Prince " pieces of ſilk and other valuable articles to which I have " added ſome antique vaſes.

" May your King receive my preſent. May he govern his " people with wiſdom; and give his ſole attention to this grand " object, acting always with an upright and ſincere heart: " and, laſtly, may he always cheriſh the recollection of my " beneficence! May this King attentively watch over the affairs " of his kingdom. I recommend it to him ſtrongly and ear- " neſtly.

" The twenty-fourth day of the firſt moon of the ſixtieth " year of the reign of Kien Long."

The very different treatment which the Engliſh embaſſy received at the court of Pekin is eaſily explained. The Chineſe are well informed of the ſuperiority of the Engliſh over all other nations by ſea; of the great extent of their commerce; of their vaſt poſſeſſions in India which they have long regarded with a jealous eye; and of the character and independent ſpirit of the nation. They perceived, in the manly and open conduct of Lord Macartney, the repreſentative of a ſovereign in no way inferior to the Emperor of China, and they felt the propriety, though they were unwilling to avow it, of exacting only the ſame token of reſpect from him towards their ſovereign, that one of their own countrymen, of equal rank, ſhould pay to the portrait of his Britannic majeſty. It muſt, however, have been a

hard ſtruggle between perſonal pride, and national importance, before they reſolved to reject ſo fair a propoſal, and conſent to wave a ceremony which had never, on any former occaſion, been diſpenſed with. It is eaſy to conceive how ſtrong an impreſſion the refuſal of an individual to comply with the ceremonies of the country was likely to make on the minds of the Emperor and his court: how much they muſt have ſuffered in their own opinion, and how greatly muſt their pride have been mortified, to find that by no trick, nor artifice, nor ſtretch of power, could they prevail on an Engliſh Embaſſador to forego the dignity and reſpect due to the ſituation he held at their court, whither they were now convinced he had not come, as was ſignified in painted letters on the colours of the ſhips that tranſported the embaſſy up the *Pei-ho*, "*to offer tribute to the Emperor of* "*China.*"

With regard to the intrigues of the Portugueze miſſionary, mentioned in Mr. Grammont's letter, Lord Macartney was ſufficiently aware of them long before his arrival in the capital, and took ſuch meaſures, in conſequence of the information, as were moſt likely to be effectual in counteracting any influence that he might ſecretly exert, injurious to the intereſts of the Britiſh nation. But the intrigues of churchmen are not always eaſily obviated, eſpecially where they are ſuſpicious of their errors being expoſed or their ignorance detected. It is a painful truth (and is noticed here with reluctance, on account of the many worthy members of the ſociety) that the miniſters of a certain branch of a religion whoſe diſtinguiſhing feature is meekneſs and forbearance, ſhould have ſo far perverted the intention of its benevolent

lent author, as to have produced more intrigues, cabals, and perſecutions, than even the relentleſs Mahomedans, whoſe firſt article of faith inculcates merit in deſtroying thoſe of a different perſuaſion. Their political intrigues and interference in ſtate affairs, have done material injury to the cauſe of Chriſtianity in almoſt every country into which their miſſions have extended.

The malignant ſpirit of this ſame Portugueze miſſionary was not confined to the framing of falſhoods and miſrepreſentations with regard to the views of the Britiſh embaſſy, but has continued to exert its influence at the court of Pekin, in the ſame ſecret and diſhonourable way, whenever an opportunity occurred that ſeemed favourable for raiſing unwarrantable ſuſpicions in the minds of the Chineſe againſt the Engliſh nation. Towards the cloſe of the laſt war, when it was found expedient to take poſſeſſion of ſome of the Portugueze colonies, and an expedition for this purpoſe was actually ſent out to ſecure the peninſula of Macao, this miſſionary loſt no time in ſuggeſting to the Chineſe court, that the deſigns of the Engliſh in getting poſſeſſion of Macao might be of the ſame nature as thoſe they had already practiſed in India; and that if they were once ſuffered to get footing in the country, China might experience the ſame fate as Hindoſtan. Fortunately for the concerns of the Britiſh Eaſt India Company this officious interference and the malevolent inſinuations of *Bernardo Almeyda* took a very different turn to what he had expected. The intelligence of a hoſtile force ſo near the coaſt of China coming firſt from an European miſſionary, implied a neglect in the Viceroy of Canton, and an angry letter was addreſſed to him from court,

ordering him to give immediate and accurate information on the ſubject. The Viceroy, nettled at the officious zeal of the Portugueze, poſitively denied the fact of any hoſtile intention of the Engliſh, " who, being a brave people, and terrible in " arms, had intimidated the Portugueze at Macao, though " without reaſon, as their ſhips of war, as uſual, came only to " protect their ſhips of commerce againſt their enemies." When this diſpatch of the Viceroy reached Pekin, the Emperor was ſo exaſperated to think that the Court had ſuffered itſelf to be miſled by an European miſſionary, that he ordered Almeyda to appear before the maſter of the houſehold, and on his knees to aſk forgiveneſs of crime, which, he was told, deſerved to be puniſhed with death; and he was diſmiſſed with a caution never more to interfere in the ſtate affairs of China. The whole of this curious tranſaction is publiſhed in the Pekin Gazette of laſt year; ſo that the Engliſh have gained a conſiderable degree of reputation by it, ſo much, indeed, that the Chineſe at Canton (and a great deal depends upon their repreſentations) would have no objection to ſee the Engliſh in poſſeſſion of Macao; for they cordially hate, I believe it is not too much to ſay they deſpiſe, the Portugueze, and they ſpeak with horror of the French. What a moment then is this for England to turn to its advantage!

Independent, however, of the machinations of miſſionaries, ſuch is the pride and the haughty inſolence of the Chineſe government, that, in no inſtance on record, but that of the Britiſh embaſſy, has it ever relaxed from its long eſtabliſhed cuſtoms, nor acquieſced in any demands of foreign embaſſadors, whether

whether the tone in which they were made was ſupplicating or authoritative. The forms of the court they contend to be as immutable as were the laws of the Medes and Perſians. Every thing muſt be conducted by preſcriptive uſage, and no deviation allowed from the rules which for ages have been eſtabliſhed by law, and regiſtered by the council of ordinances; much leſs the remiſſion of any duty that might derogate from the reverence and reſpect which are conſidered to be due to the perſon of the Emperor.

It may be imagined, then, that an event ſo new as a refuſal to ſubmit to the degrading ceremony required from an embaſſador, at his public introduction, could not fail of making a very ſtrong impreſſion on the minds of thoſe about the perſon of his Imperial Majeſty; who, as Mr. Van Braam ſays, were (and without doubt they were) much better ſatisfied with the complying temper of the Dutch, than with the inflexible pertinacity of the Engliſh. Yet, they did not venture to lodge the latter in a ſtable, nor think proper to perſevere in demanding unreaſonable homage. Neither was any pique or ill-nature apparent in any ſingle inſtance, after the departure of the embaſſy from the capital, but very much the contrary. The officers appointed to conduct it to Canton teſtified the moſt earneſt deſire to pleaſe, by a ready attention to every minute circumſtance that might add to the comforts of the travellers, or alleviate, if not entirely remove, any little inconvenience. It was a flattering circumſtance to the embaſſador to obſerve their anxiety for the favourable opinion of a nation they had now begun to think more highly of, and of whom, in meaſuring

with themſelves, it was not difficult to perceive, they felt, though too cautious to avow, the ſuperiority.

The Britiſh embaſſy was a meaſure which it was abſolutely neceſſary to adopt, for reaſons that are ſtated at full length in the firſt chapter of Sir George Staunton's valuable work, and the foundation it has laid for future advantages more than counterbalances the trifling expence it occaſioned to the Eaſt India Company, which did not exceed two per cent. on the annual amount of their trade from England to Canton. Thoſe who had formed immoderate expectations muſt have little underſtood the laws and cuſtoms of China, which admit not the ſyſtem of mutual intercourſe between diſtant nations, by means of embaſſadors or reſident miniſters at the reſpective courts. Their cuſtom is to receive embaſſadors with reſpect and hoſpitality; to conſider them as viſitors to the Emperor, and to entertain them accordingly as his particular gueſts, from the moment they enter the country till they return to the boundaries of his empire. This being neceſſarily attended with an enormous expence *, the court of ceremonies has preſcribed forty days for the reſidence of foreign embaſſadors, either in the capital, or wherever the court may happen to be; though on particular occaſions, or by accident, the term may ſometimes be extended to double that time.

Thus by conſulting the accounts of the different European embaſſies that have been ſent to China in the two laſt centu-

* The expence occaſioned to the court of China by the Britiſh embaſſy, will be ſtated in a ſubſequent chapter.

ries,

ries, it will be found that the reſidence of none of them was extended to twice the term fixed by the court of ceremonies, and two of them did not remain the period allowed.

The firſt embaſſy ſent by the Dutch arrived in Pekin the 17th July 1656, and departed the 16th October following, having remained ninety-one days.

The ſecond Dutch embaſſy arrived in Pekin the 20th June 1667, and departed the 5th Auguſt, having reſided forty-ſix days.

The firſt Ruſſian embaſſy arrived at the capital on the 5th November 1692, and left it on the 17th February 1693, having remained there one hundred and ſix days.

The ſecond Ruſſian embaſſy arrived at Pekin on the 18th November 1720, and did not leave it till the 2d March 1721, being one hundred and fourteen days.

Theſe two embaſſies were immediately connected with the commercial concerns of the two nations, which were then tranſacted in the capital of China, but now confined to the adjoining frontiers.

The Pope's embaſſy arrived in Pekin on the 15th December 1720, and departed the 24th March 1721, being ninety-nine days.

The

The Portugueze embaſſy entered Pekin the 1ſt May 1753, and left it the 8th June following, being only thirty-nine days.

The Britiſh embaſſy arrived in Pekin the 21ſt Auguſt 1793, and departed the 7th October, being forty-ſeven days.

The third Dutch embaſſy entered the capital the 10th January 1795, and left it the 15th February, being thirty-ſix days.

On the whole, then, it may be concluded, that neither Monſieur Grammont, nor they who conceived that an unconditional and ſervile compliance, on the part of the Britiſh Embaſſador, would have been productive of more favourable reſults, were right in their conjectures. On the contrary, it may, perhaps, be rather laid down as a certain conſequence, that a tone of ſubmiſſion, and a tame and paſſive obedience to the degrading demands of this haughty court, ſerve only to feed its pride, and add to the abſurd notions of its own vaſt importance.

CHAP. II.

Occurrences and Obſervations in the Navigation of the Yellow Sea, and the Paſſage up the Pei-ho, or White River.

Different Teſtimonies that have been given of the Chineſe Character.—Compariſon of China with Europe in the ſixteenth Century.—Motives of the Miſſionaries in their Writings.—Britiſh Embaſſy paſſes the Streights of Formoſa.—Appearance of a Ta-fung.—*Chuſan Iſlands.—Inſtance of Chineſe Amplification.—Various Chineſe Veſſels.—Syſtem of their Navigation—their Compaſs, probably of Scythian Origin —foreign Voyages of.—Traces of Chineſe in America—in an Iſland of the Tartarian Sea—in the Perſian Gulph—traded probably as far as Madagaſcar.—Commerce of the Tyrians.—Reaſons for conjecturing that the Hottentots may have derived their Origin from China.—Portrait of a Chineſe compared with that of a Hottentot.—Malays of the ſame deſcent as the Chineſe.—Curious coincidences in the Cuſtoms of theſe and the Sumatrans.—Cingaleſe of Chineſe Origin.—One of the Brigs diſpatched to* Chu-ſan *for Pilots.—Rapid Currents among the Iſlands.—Viſit to the Governor.—Difficulties in procuring Pilots.—Arbitrary Proceeding of the Governor.—Pilots puzzled with our Compaſs—Ignorance of—Arrive in the Gulph of* Pe-tche-lee.—*Viſit of two Officers from Court, and their Preſent —enter the* Pei-ho, *and embark in convenient Yachts.—Accommodating Conduct of the two Officers.—Profuſion of Proviſions.—Appearance of the Country—of the People.—Dreſs of the Women.—Remarks on their ſmall Feet.—Chineſe an uncleanly and frowzy People.—Immenſe Crowds of People and River Craft at* Tien-Sing.—*Decent and prepoſſeſſing Conduct of the Multitude.—Muſical Air ſung by the Rowers of the Yachts.—Favourable Traits in the Chineſe Character.—Face and Products of the Country.—Multitudes of People Inhabitants of the Water.—Another Inſtance of arbitrary Power.—Diſembark at* Tong Tchoo, *and are lodged in a Temple.*

"IF any man ſhould make a collection of all the inventions, "and all the productions, that every nation, which now is,

" or ever has been, upon the face of the globe, the whole " would fall far ſhort, either as to number or quality, of what " is to be met with in China." Theſe, or ſomething ſimilar, are the words of the learned Iſaac Voſſius.

The teſtimony given by the celebrated authors of the *Encyclopedie des Connoiſſances humaines* is almoſt equally ſtrong: " The Chineſe who, by common conſent, are ſuperior to all " the Aſiatic nations, in antiquity, in genius, in the progreſs " of the ſciences, in wiſdom, in government, and in true phi- " loſophy; may, moreover, in the opinion of ſome authors, " enter the liſts, on all theſe points, with the moſt enlightened " nations of Europe."

How flattering, then, and gratifying muſt it have been to the feelings of thoſe few favoured perſons, who had the good fortune to be admitted into the ſuite of the Britiſh Embaſſador, then preparing to proceed to the court of that Sovereign who held the government of ſuch an extraordinary nation; how greatly muſt they have enjoyed the proſpect of experiencing, in their own perſons, all that was virtuous, and powerful, and grand, and magnificent, concentrated in one point—in the city of Pekin!

And if any doubts might have ariſen, on conſideration that neither the learned Canon of Windſor, nor the celebrated Authors of the Encyclopedie, were ever in China; that the firſt was wonderfully given to the marvellous, and the latter had no other authorities, than thoſe of the Jeſuits, and other miſſionaries for propagating

propagating the Chriſtian faith, yet ſuch doubts were more inclined to yield to the favourable ſide, as being ſupported by the almoſt unanimous concurrence of a multitude of teſtimonies, contained in the relations that have, at various times, been publiſhed not only by the miſſionaries, but alſo by ſome other travellers.

The late Sir William Jones, indeed, who deſervedly took the lead in oriental literature, had obſerved, in ſpeaking of the Chineſe, that "By ſome they have been extolled as the oldeſt "and wiſeſt, as the moſt learned, and moſt ingenious, of na- "tions; whilſt others have derided their pretenſions to anti- "quity, condemned their government as abominable, and "arraigned their manners as inhuman; without allowing "them an element of ſcience, or a ſingle art, for which "they have not been indebted to ſome more ancient and more "civilized race of men."

It is true, alſo, the reſearches of Mr. Pauw, the ſagacious philoſopher of Berlin, and the narrative of the elegant and impreſſive writer of Lord Anſon's Voyage, convey to the reader's mind no very favourable ideas of the Chineſe character; yet, as the enquiries of the one were entered upon in a ſpirit of controverſy, and directed to one ſingle point, and the author, as juſtly has been obſerved of him, delights ſometimes to take a ſwim againſt the ſtream, many deductions were clearly to be made from the concluſions of Mr. Pauw. And with regard to the Narrative of Mr. Robins, it may be remarked that, to decide upon the general character of the Chineſe, from the dealings Lord Anſon had with them in the port of Canton,

would be as unfair, as it would be thought preſumptuous in a foreigner to draw the character of our own nation from a caſual viſit to Falmouth, Killybeggs, or Aberdeen. The ſame remark will apply to the accounts given of this nation by Toreen, Oſbeck, Sonnerat, and ſome others, who have viſited Canton in trading ſhips, none of whom were five hundred yards beyond the limits of the European factories.

It would alſo have been highly illiberal to ſuppoſe, that a body of men, remarkable, as the early Jeſuit miſſionaries were thought to be, for probity, talent, and diſintereſtedneſs, ſhould ſtudiouſly ſit down to compoſe fabrications for the mere purpoſe of deceiving the world. Even Voltaire, who had little partiality for the ſacerdotal character, is willing to admit, that their relations ought to be conſidered as the productions of the moſt intelligent travellers that have extended and embelliſhed the fields of Science and Philoſophy. This remark, with proper allowances being made for the age in which they were written, may perhaps be applied to the narratives of the early miſſions to China, though not exactly to ſome others of a more modern date. All the praiſes beſtowed by the former on this nation, the latter, it would ſeem, have, injudiciouſly, conſidered themſelves bound to juſtify; without taking into account the progreſſive improvements of Europe within the laſt century and a half.

That China was civilized to a certain degree before moſt of the nations of Europe, not even Greece excepted, is a fact that will not admit of a doubt; but that it has continued to im-

prove, ſo as ſtill to vie with many of the preſent European ſtates, as the miſſionaries would have it ſuppoſed, is not by any means ſo clear. From the middle to the end of the ſixteenth century, compared with Europe in general, it had greatly the ſuperiority, if not in ſcience, at leaſt in arts and manufactures, in the conveniencies and the luxuries of life. The Chineſe were, at that period, pretty much in the ſame ſtate in which they ſtill are; and in which they are likely to continue. When the firſt Europeans viſited China, they were aſtoniſhed to find an univerſal toleration of religious opinions; to obſerve *Lamas* and *Tao-tzes*, *Jews*, *Perſees*, and *Mahomedans*, living quietly together, and each following his own creed without moleſtation; whilſt moſt of the countries in Europe were, at that time, torn in pieces by religious ſchiſms; and man was labouring with enthuſiaſtic fury to deſtroy his fellow-creatures, in honour of his Creator, for a ſlight difference of opinion in matters of no real importance, or even for a different acceptation of a word. In China, every one was allowed to think as he pleaſed, and to chuſe his own religion. The horrid maſſacre of the proteſtants in Paris had terrified all Europe. China knew nothing of internal commotions, but ſuch as were ſometimes occaſioned by a partial ſcarcity of grain. The art of improving vegetables by particular modes of culture, was juſt beginning to be known in Europe. All China, at that time, was comparatively a garden. When the King of France introduced the luxury of ſilk ſtockings, which, about eighteen years afterwards, was adopted by Elizabeth of England, the peaſantry of the middle provinces of China were clothed in ſilks from head to foot. At this period, few or none of the little elegancies or conveniencies of life

life were known in Europe; the ladies' toilet had few eſſences to gratify the ſenſe of ſmell, or to beautify, for a time, the complexion; the ſciſſars, needles, pen-knives, and other little appendages, were then unknown; and rude and ill-poliſhed ſkewers uſurped the place of pins. In China, the ladies had their needlework, their paint-boxes, their trinkets of ivory, of ſilver in fillagree, of mother-pearl, and of tortoiſe-ſhell. Even the calendar, at this time ſo defective in Europe, that Pope Gregory was urged to the bold undertaking of leaping over, or annihilating, ten days, was found to be, in China, a national concern, and the particular care of government. Decimal arithmetic, a new and uſeful diſcovery of the ſeventeenth century in Europe, was the only ſyſtem of arithmetic in uſe in China. In a word, when the nobility of England were ſleeping on ſtraw, a peaſant of China had his mat and his pillow; and the man in office enjoyed his ſilken mattreſs. One cannot, therefore, be ſurprized if the impreſſions made upon theſe holy men were powerfully felt, or if their deſcriptions ſhould ſeem to incline a little towards the marvellous. Nor may perhaps their relations be found to be much embelliſhed, on a fair compariſon of the ſtate of China with that of Europe in general, from the year 1560 to the cloſe of the ſame century.

Theſe religious men, however, might have had their motives for ſetting this wonderful people in the faireſt point of view. The more powerful and magnificent, the more learned and refined they repreſented this nation to be, the greater would be their triumph in the event of their effecting a change of the national faith. It may alſo have occurred to them, that common

mon prudence required they ſhould ſpeak favourably, at leaſt, of a nation under whoſe power and protection they had voluntarily placed themſelves for life. There is every reaſon to ſuppoſe, that in general they mean to tell the truth, but by ſuppreſſing ſome part of it, or by telling it in ſuch a manner as if they expected it would one day get back to China in the language of that country, their accounts often appear to be contradictory in themſelves. In the ſame breath that they extol the wonderful ſtrength of filial piety, they ſpeak of the common practices of expoſing infants; the ſtrict morality and ceremonious conduct of the people are followed by a liſt of the moſt groſs debaucheries; the virtues and the philoſophy of the learned are explained by their ignorance and their vices; if in one page they ſpeak of the exceſſive fertility of the country, and the amazing extenſion of agriculture, in the next, thouſands are ſeen periſhing by want; and whilſt they extol with admiration the progreſs they have made in the arts and ſciences, they plainly inform us that without the aid of foreigners they can neither caſt a cannon, nor calculate an eclipſe.

Upon the whole, however, the Britiſh embaſſy left England under a favourable impreſſion of the people it was about to viſit. Whether the expectations of all thoſe who compoſed it, independent of any political conſideration, were realized, or ended in diſappointment, may partly be collected from the following pages. The opinions they contain are drawn from ſuch incidents and anecdotes as occurred in the courſe of an eight months' viſit and from ſuch as ſeemed beſt calculated to illuſtrate the condition of the people, the national character, and the nature

of

of the government. A ſhort reſidence in the imperial palace of Yuen-min-yuen, a greater ſhare of liberty than is uſually permitted to ſtrangers in this country, with the aſſiſtance of ſome little knowledge of the language, afforded me the means of collecting the facts and obſervations which I now lay before the public; and in the relation of which I have endeavoured to adhere to that excellent rule of our immortal poet,

——" Nothing extenuate,
" Nor ſet down aught in malice."

And as the qualities of good and evil, excellence and mediocrity, in any nation, can only be fairly eſtimated by a compariſon with thoſe of the ſame kind in others, wherever a ſimilitude or a contraſt in the Chineſe character or cuſtoms with thoſe of any other people ancient or modern occurred to my recollection, I have conſidered it as not wholly unintereſting to note the relation or diſagreement.

The diſpatches from China, received by the Britiſh Embaſſador on his arrival at Batavia, communicated the agreeable intelligence that his Imperial Majeſty had been pleaſed, by a public edict, not only to declare his entire ſatisfaction with the intended embaſſy, but that he had likewiſe iſſued ſtrict orders to the commanding officers of the ſeveral ports along the coaſt of the Yellow Sea, to be particularly careful that Pilots ſhould be ready, at a moment's notice, to conduct the Engliſh ſquadron to *Tien-ſing*, the neareſt port to the capital, or to any other which might be conſidered as more convenient and ſuitable for the Britiſh ſhips.

By

By this communication a point of ſome difficulty was now conſidered to be removed. It was deemed a deſireable circumſtance to be furniſhed with the means of proceeding directly to Pekin through the Yellow Sea, and thus to avoid any intercourſe with the port of Canton; as it was well known the principal officers of the government there were prepared to throw every obſtacle in the way of the embaſſy, and if not effectually to prevent, at leaſt to counteract, any repreſentations that might be made at the imperial court, with regard to the abuſes that exiſt in the adminiſtration of the public affairs at that place, and more eſpecially to the exactions and impoſitions to which the commercial eſtabliſhments are liable of the different nations whoſe ſubjects have eſtabliſhed factories in this ſouthern emporium of China. It could not be ſuppoſed, indeed, that their endeavours would be leſs exerted, in this particular inſtance, than on all former occaſions of a ſimilar nature.

The navigation of the Yellow Sea, as yet entirely unknown to any European nation, was conſidered as a ſubject of ſome importance, from the information it would afford the means of ſupplying, and which, on any future occaſion, might not only leſſen the dangers of an unknown paſſage, but prevent alſo much delay by ſuperſeding the neceſſity of running into different ports in ſearch of Chineſe Pilots, whom, by experience, we afterwards found to be more dangerous than uſeful.

We paſſed through the ſtreight of Formoſa without ſeeing any part of the main land of China, or of the iſland from whence the ſtreight derives its name, except a high point

towards the northern extremity. The weather, indeed, during three ſucceſſive days, the 25th, 26th, and 27th July was ſo dark and gloomy, that the eye could ſcarcely diſcern the largeſt objects at the diſtance of a mile, yet the thermometer was from 80° to 83° the greater part of theſe days. A heavy and almoſt inceſſant fall of rain was accompanied with violent ſqualls of wind, and frequent burſts of thunder and flaſhes of lightning; which, with the croſs and confuſed ſwell in the ſea, made the paſſage not only uncomfortably irkſome, but alſo extremely dangerous, on account of the many iſlands interſperſed in almoſt every part of the ſtrait.

On the evening of the 25th the ſun ſet in a bank of fog, which made the whole weſtern ſide of the horizon look like a blaze of fire, and the barometer was obſerved to have fallen near one third of an inch, which, in theſe latitudes and at ſea, is conſidered as a certain indication of a change of weather. There were on board ſome Chineſe fiſhermen who had been driven out to ſea in one of the Eaſt India company's ſhips, which we met with in the ſtraits of Sunda. Theſe men aſſured us that the appearance of the heavens prognoſticated one of thoſe tremendous gales of wind which are well known to Europeans by the name of *Ty-phoon* and which ſome ingenious and learned men have ſuppoſed to be the ſame as the Typhon of the Egyptians or τυφων of the Greeks. The Chineſe, however have made uſe of no mythological alluſion in naming this hurricane. They call it *Ta-fung* which literally ſignifies a *a great wind.* The wind was certainly high the whole of the night and the following day, the thunder and lightning dreadful,

ful, and the variable ſqualls and rain frequent and heavy; the depth of the ſea from 25 to 30 fathoms.

The charts, however, of this paſſage into the Yellow Sea, conſtructed by Europeans when the Chineſe permitted foreign nations to trade to *Chu-ſan*, are conſidered as ſufficiently exact for ſkilful navigators to avoid the dangerous rocks and iſlands. By the help of theſe charts our ſquadron ventured to ſtand through the ſtill more intricate and narrow paſſages of the Chuſan Archipelago, where, in the contracted ſpace of about eight hundred ſquare leagues, the ſurface of the ſea is ſtudded with a cluſter, conſiſting, nearly, of four hundred diſtinct iſlands.

Theſe iſlands appeared to us, in ſailing among them, to be moſtly uninhabited, extremely barren of trees or ſhrubs, and many of them deſtitute even of herbage, or verdure of any kind. In ſome of the creeks we perceived a number of boats and other ſmall craft, at the upper ends of which were villages compoſed of mean looking huts, the dwellings moſt probably of fiſhermen, as there was no appearance of cultivated ground near them to furniſh their inhabitants with the means of ſubſiſtence.

The ſquadron having dropped anchor, we landed on one of the largeſt of theſe iſlands; and walked a very conſiderable diſtance before we ſaw a human being. At length, in deſcending a valley, in the bottom of which was a ſmall village, we fell in with a young peaſant, whom with ſome difficulty, by means of an interpreter, we engaged in converſation. Embarraſſed in thus ſuddenly meeting with ſtrangers, ſo different from his own

countrymen, in dreſs, in features, and complexion, his timidity might almoſt be ſaid to aſſume the appearance of terror. He ſoon, however, gained confidence, and became communicative. He aſſured us that the iſland on which we were, and of which he was a native, was the beſt in the whole groupe, and the moſt populous, except that of *Chu-ſan*; the number of its inhabitants being ten thouſand ſouls. It was diſcovered, however, before we had been long in the country, that when a Chineſe made uſe of the monoſyllable *van*, which in his language ſignifies ten thouſand, he was not to be underſtood as ſpeaking of a determinate or preciſe number, but only as making uſe of a term that implied amplification. A ſtate criminal, for example, is generally condemned to undergo the puniſhment of being cut into *ten thouſand* pieces; the great wall of China is called the *van-lee-tchin*, or wall of *ten thouſand lee*, or three thouſand Engliſh miles, a length juſt double to that which the moſt authentic accounts have given of it. But when he means to inform any one that the emperor has *ten thouſand* large veſſels, for the purpoſe of collecting taxes paid in kind, on the grand canal, inſtead of the monoſyllable *van* he invariably makes uſe of the expreſſion nine thouſand nine hundred and ninety-nine, as conveying a fixed and definite number, and, in this caſe, he will be underſtood to ſignify literally ten thouſand. In this manner, I ſuppoſe, we were to underſtand the population of the iſland *Lo-ang*.

At the ſight of our large ſhips, ſo different in their appearance from any of thoſe belonging to the Chineſe, a vaſt number of boats, iſſuing from every creek and cove, preſently crowded together, in ſuch a manner, and with ſo little management,

ment, as to render it difficult to paſs through without danger of overſetting or ſinking ſome of them; a danger, however, to which they ſeemed quite inſenſible. Veſſels of a larger deſcription, and various in the ſhape of their hulls and rigging, from twenty tons burden and upwards, to about two hundred tons, were obſerved in conſiderable numbers, ſailing along the coaſt of the continent, laden generally with ſmall timber, which was piled to ſuch a height upon their decks, that no extraordinary force of wind would ſeem to be required to overturn them. Beams of wood, and other pieces that were too long to be received upon the deck of a ſingle ſhip, were laid acroſs the decks of two veſſels laſhed together. We ſaw at leaſt a hundred couple thus laden in one fleet, keeping cloſe in with the coaſt, in order to be ready, in caſe of bad weather, to put into the neareſt port, being ill calculated to reſiſt a ſtorm at ſea. The ſhips indeed that are deſtined for longer voyages appear, from their ſingular conſtruction, to be very unfit to contend with the tempeſtuous ſeas of China. The general form of the hull, or body of the ſhip, above water, is that of the moon when about four days old. The bow, or forepart, is not rounded as in ſhips of Europe, but is a ſquare flat ſurface, the ſame as the ſtern; without any projecting piece of wood, uſually known by the name of cutwater, and without any keel. On each ſide of the bow a large circular eye is painted, in imitation, I ſuppoſe, of that of a fiſh. The two ends of the ſhip riſe to a prodigious height above the deck. Some carry two, ſome three, and others four maſts. Each of theſe conſiſts of a ſingle piece of wood, and conſequently not capable of being occaſionally reduced in length, as thoſe of European ſhips.

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The diameter of the mainmaſt of one of the larger kind of Chineſe veſſels, ſuch as trade to Batavia, is not leſs than that of an Engliſh man of war of ſixty-four guns. And it is fixed in a bed of maſſive timber laid acroſs the deck. On each maſt is a ſingle ſail of matting, made from the fibres of the bamboo, and ſtretched by means of poles of that reed, running acroſs, at the diſtance of about two feet from each other. Theſe ſails are frequently made to furl and unfurl like a fan. When well hoiſted up and braced almoſt fore and aft, or parallel with the ſides of the ſhip, a Chineſe veſſel will ſail within three and a half, or four points of the wind; but they loſe all this advantage over ſhips of Europe by their drifting to leeward, in conſequence of the round and clumſy ſhape of the bottom, and their want of keel. The rudder is ſo placed, in a large opening of the ſtern, that it can occaſionally be taken up, which is generally done on approaching ſands and ſhallows.

The Chineſe, in fact, are equally unſkilled in naval architecture, as in the art of navigation. They keep no reckoning at ſea, nor poſſeſs the leaſt idea of drawing imaginary lines upon the ſurface of the globe, by the help of which the poſition of any particular ſpot may be aſſigned; in other words, they have no means whatſoever of aſcertaining the latitude or the longitude of any place, either by eſtimation from the diſtance ſailed, or by obſervation of the heavenly bodies, with inſtruments for that purpoſe. Yet they pretend to ſay, that many of their early navigators made long voyages, in which they were

were guided by charts of the route, ſometimes drawn on paper, and ſometimes on the convex ſurface of large gourds or pumpkins. From this circumſtance, ſome of the Jeſuits have inferred, that ſuch charts muſt have been more correct than thoſe on flat ſurfaces. If, indeed, the portion of the convex ſurface, employed for the purpoſe, was the ſegment of a ſphere, and occupied a ſpace having a comparative relation to that part of the ſurface of the earth ſailed over, the inference might be allowable; but this would be to ſuppoſe a degree of knowledge to which, it does not appear, the Chineſe had at any time attained, it being among them, in every period of their hiſtory, an univerſally received opinion, that the earth is a ſquare, and that the kingdom of China is placed in the very center of its flat ſurface.

The preſent ſyſtem of Chineſe navigation is to keep as near the ſhore as poſſible; and never to loſe ſight of land, unleſs in voyages that abſolutely require it; ſuch as to Japan, Batavia, and Cochin-China. Knowing the bearing, or direction of the port intended to be made, let the wind be fair or foul, they endeavour, as nearly as poſſible, to keep the head of the ſhip always pointing towards the port by means of the compaſs. This inſtrument, as uſed in China, has every appearance of originality. The natives know nothing, from hiſtory or tradition, of its firſt introduction or diſcovery; and the uſe of the magnet, for indicating the poles of the earth, can be traced, from their records, to a period of time when the greateſt part of Europe was in a ſtate of barbariſm. It has been conjectured, indeed, that the uſe of the magnetic needle, in Europe, was firſt brought from China by the famous traveller Mario Polo

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the Venetian. Its appearance immediately after his death, or, according to ſome, while he was yet living, but at all events, in his own country, renders ſuch a conjecture extremely probable. The embaſſies in which he was employed by Kublai-Khan, and the long voyages he performed by ſea, could ſcarcely have been practicable without the aid of the compaſs. Be this as it may, the Chineſe were, without doubt, well acquainted with this inſtrument long before the thirteenth century. It is recorded in their beſt authenticated annals merely as a fact, and not as any extraordinary circumſtance, that the Emperor *Chung-ko* preſented an embaſſador of Cochin-China, who had loſt his way in coming by ſea, with a *Ting-nan-tchin* "a needle pointing out the ſouth," the name which it ſtill retains. Even this idea of the ſeat of magnetic influence, together with the conſtruction of the compaſs-box, the diviſion of the card into eight principal points, and each of theſe again ſubdivided into three, the manner of ſuſpending the needle, and its diminutive ſize, ſeldom exceeding in length three quarters of an inch, are all of them ſtrong preſumptions of its being an original, and not a borrowed invention.

By ſome, indeed, it has been conjectured, that the Scythians, in the northern regions of Aſia, were acquainted with the polarity of the magnet, in ages antecedent to all hiſtory, and that the virtue of this foſſil was intended to be meant by the flying arrow, preſented to Abaris by Apollo, about the time of the Trojan war, with the help of which he could tranſport himſelf wherever he pleaſed. The abundance of iron ores, and perhaps of native iron, in every part of Tartary, and the very

early period of time in which the natives were acquainted with the proceſs of ſmelting theſe ores, render the idea not improbable, of the northern nations of Europe, and Aſia, (or the Scythians,) being firſt acquainted with the polarity of the magnet.

Yet even with the aſſiſtance of the compaſs, it is ſurprizing how the clumſy and ill-conſtructed veſſels of the Chineſe can perform ſo long and dangerous a voyage as that to Batavia. For, beſides being thrown out of their courſe by every contrary wind, their whole conſtruction, and particularly the vaſt height of their upper works above the water, ſeems little adapted to oppoſe thoſe violent tempeſts that prevail on the China ſeas, known, as we have already obſerved, by the name of *Ta-fung*. Theſe hurricanes ſometimes blow with ſuch ſtrength that, according to the aſſertion of an experienced and intelligent commander of one of the Eaſt India Company's ſhips, "Were it poſſible to blow ten thouſand trumpets, and "beat as many drums, on the forecaſtle of an Indiaman, in the "height of a *Ta-fung*, neither the ſound of the one nor the "other would be heard by a perſon on the quarter-deck of the "ſame ſhip." In fact, vaſt numbers of Chineſe veſſels are loſt in theſe heavy gales of wind; and ten or twelve thouſand ſubjects from the port of Canton alone are reckoned to periſh annually by ſhipwreck.

When a ſhip leaves this port on a foreign voyage, it is conſidered as an equal chance that ſhe will never return; and when the event proves favourable, a general rejoicing takes place among the friends of all thoſe who had embarked in the

hazardous enterprize. Some of theſe ſhips are not leſs than a thouſand tons burden, and contain half that number of ſouls, beſides the paſſengers that leave their country, in the hope of making their fortunes in Batavia and Manilla. A ſhip is ſeldom the concern of one man. Sometimes forty or fifty, or even a hundred different merchants purchaſe a veſſel, and divide her into as many compartments as there are partners, ſo that each knows his own particular place in the ſhip, which he is at liberty to fit up and to ſecure as he pleaſes. He ſhips his goods, and accompanies them in perſon, or ſends his ſon, or a near relation, for it rarely happens that they will truſt each other with property, where no family connexion exiſts. Each ſleeping-place is juſt the length and breadth of a man, and contains only a ſmall mat, ſpread on the floor, and a pillow. Behind the compaſs is generally placed a ſmall temple, with an altar, on which is continually kept burning a ſpiral taper compoſed of wax, tallow and ſandal-wood duſt. This holy flame anſwers a double purpoſe; for while the burning of it fulfils an act of piety, its twelve equal diviſions ſerve to meaſure the twelve portions of time, which make up a complete day. It ſhould ſeem that the ſuperſtitious notions inculcated in the people have led them to ſuppoſe, that ſome particular influence reſides in the compaſs; for, on every appearance of a change in the weather, they burn incenſe before the magnetic needle.

The loſſes occaſioned among the ſhips that were employed to tranſport the taxes paid in kind from the ports of the ſouthern and middle provinces to the northern capital, were ſo

great, at the time of the Tartar Conqueſt, in the thirteenth century, that the ſucceſſors of Gengis-Khan were induced to open a direct communication between the two extremes of the empire, by means of the rivers and canals; an undertaking that reflects the higheſt credit on the Mongul Tartars, and which cannot fail to be regarded with admiration, as long as it ſhall continue to exiſt. The Chineſe, however, ſay, that the Tartars only repaired the old works that were fallen into decay.

Six centuries previous to this period, or about the ſeventh century of the Chriſtian æra, the Chineſe merchants, according to the opinion of the learned and ingenious Mr. de Guignes, carried on a trade to the weſt coaſt of North America. That, at this time, the promontory of Kamſkatka was known to them under the name of *Ta-Shan*, many of their books of travels ſufficiently teſtify; but their journies thither were generally made by land. One of the miſſionaries aſſured me that, in a collection of travels to Kamſkatka, by various Chineſe, the names of the ſeveral Tartar tribes, their manners, cuſtoms, and characters, the geographical deſcriptions of lakes, rivers, and mountains, were too clearly and diſtinctly noted to be miſtaken. It is, however, extremely probable that, as furs and peltry were always in great demand, they might alſo have ſome communication with the ſaid promontory from the iſles of Jeſſo, to which they were known to trade with their ſhipping; and which are only a very ſhort diſtance from it. Mr. de Guignes, in ſupport of his opinion, quotes the journal of a Bonze, as the prieſts of Fo have uſually been called, who

ſailed eaſtward from Kamſkatka to ſuch a diſtance as, in his mind, puts it beyond a doubt that the country he arrived at was no other than the coaſt of California. The Spaniſh writers, indeed, of the early voyages to this country, make mention of various wrecks of Chineſe veſſels being found in different parts of the weſtern coaſt of the New Continent; and they obſerve that the natives here were, invariably, more civilized than in the interior and eaſtern parts of America.

Even thoſe on the eaſtern coaſt of South America have a very ſtrong reſemblance to the Chineſe in their perſons, though not in their temperament and manners. The Viceroy of the Brazils retains a dozen of theſe people in his ſervice, as rowers of his barge, with the uſe of which he one day honoured us, to make the tour of the grand harbour of Rio de Janeiro. We obſerved the Tartar or Chineſe features, particularly the eye, ſtrongly marked in the countenances of theſe Indians; the copper tinge was rather deeper than the darkeſt of the Chineſe; but their beards being moſtly confined to the upper lip and the point of the chin, together with their ſtrong black hair, bore a very near reſemblance.*

The iſland of Tcho-ka, or Saghalien, in the Tartarian ſea, oppoſite the mouth of the Amour, has evidently been peopled by the Chineſe. When Monſieur la Perouſe viſited this iſland, he found the inhabitants clothed in blue nankin, and "the "form of their dreſs differed but little from that of the "Chineſe; their pipes were Chineſe, and of Toſtanague; they "had long nails; and they ſaluted by kneeling and proſtration, "like

" like the Chineſe. If," continues the navigator, " they have a " common origin with the Tartars and Chineſe their ſepa- " ration from theſe nations muſt be of very ancient date, for " they have no reſemblance to them in perſon, and little in man- " ners." Yet from his own account it appears that both their manners and cuſtoms have a very cloſe reſemblance.

The Chineſe at one period carried on a very conſiderable commerce with Buſſora and other ſea-ports in the Perſian gulph, particularly *Siraff*, near which ſome ſmall iſlands, as well as ſeveral remarkable points and headlands of the coaſt, ſtill bear Chineſe names. In ſome of the voyages it is obſerved that a Colony of Chineſe had apparently ſettled in the kingdom of Soffala, the deſcendants of whom were, in the time of the writers, eaſily diſtinguiſhed from the other natives, by the difference of their colour and their features. The early Portugueſe navigators alſo obſerve that on the iſland St. Laurence or Madagaſcar they met with people that reſembled the Chineſe. That the celebrated traveller Marco Polo viſited Madagaſcar in a Chineſe veſſel there can be little doubt, unleſs indeed, like his own countrymen, we chuſe rather to reject the probable parts of his narrative as fabulous, and to believe the miracles performed by the Neſtorian Chriſtians in Armenia as the only truths in his book.

It is impoſſible not to conſider the notices given by this early traveller as curious, intereſting and valuable; and, as far as they regard the empire of China, they bear internal evidence of being generally correct. He ſailed from China in a fleet conſiſting

ſiſting of fourteen ſhips, each carrying *four* maſts, and having their holds partitioned into ſeparate chambers, ſome containing *thirteen* diſtinct compartments. This is the exact number of diviſions into which *all* the holds of thoſe ſea-faring veſſels were partitioned that tranſported the preſents and baggage from our own ſhips in the gulph of *Pe-tche-lee* into the river *Pei-ho;* and we obſerved many hundreds of a ſtill larger deſcription, that are employed in foreign voyages, all carrying *four* maſts; ſuch veſſels, our ſailors who are remarkable for metamorphoſing foreign names, uſually call *Junks*, from *Tchuan* which ſignifies a ſhip; the *Tſong-too* or viceroy of a province is called by them *John Tuck.*

Not only the form of the ſhips, but the circumſtances of the voyage taken notice of by this ancient navigator ſtamp his relation with authenticity. The ſtrong current between Madagaſcar and Zanzebar rendering it next to impoſſible for ſhips to get back to the northward; the black natives on that coaſt, the products of the country which he enumerates; the true deſcription of the Geraffe or Camelopardalis, at that time conſidered in Europe as a fabulous animal, are ſo many and ſuch ſtrong evidences in favour of his narrative, as to leave little doubt that he either was himſelf upon the eaſt coaſt of Africa, or that he had received very correct information from his Chineſe ſhipmates concerning it. Yet Doctor Vincent has aſſerted, in his *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* *, that in the time of this Venetian traveller none but Arab or Malay veſſels navigated the Indian Ocean. With all due deference to ſuch high authority I cannot forbear obſerving that the

* In the very next page (202) he however corrects himſelf, by obſerving that *either* the Chineſe or Malays navigated as far as Madagaſcar.

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ſimple relation of Marco Polo bears internal and irreſiſtible evidence that the fleet of ſhips in which he ſailed were Chineſe, of the ſame kind to all intents and purpoſes as they now are. Nor have we any reaſon for doubting the authority of the two Mahomedans who viſited China in the ninth century, when they tell us that Chineſe ſhips traded to the Perſian gulph at that time. In a chart made under the direction of the Venetian traveller and ſtill preſerved in the church of St. Michael de Murano at Venice, the ſouthern part of the continent of Africa is ſaid to be diſtinctly marked down, though this indeed might have been inſerted after the Cape of Good Hope had been doubled by the Portugueze.

Whether the Prince of Portugal had ſeen or heard of this chart, or conſulted the Arabian Geographers, or had read of the circumnavigation of Africa in the firſt tranſlation of Herodotus that made its appearance but a few years before the diſcovery of the ſouthern promontory of this continent by Bartholomew Diaz; or whether the voyages were undertaken at that time on a general plan of diſcovery, authors ſeem not to have agreed, but the opinion, I underſtand, among the Portugueze is that Henry had good grounds for ſuppoſing that the circumnavigation of Africa was practicable.

And whether the Phœnicians did or did not, in the earlieſt periods of hiſtory, double the Cape of Good of Hope there is abundant reaſon for ſuppoſing they were well acquainted with the eaſt coaſt of Africa as far as the *Cape of Currents*. Nor is it probable that the extent and flouriſhing condition of the trade

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and commerce of *Tyrus* ſhould have been limited to that part of the Indian ocean to the ſouthward of the Red Sea, which is a more difficult navigation than to the northward. That this commerce was extenſive we have the authority of the prophet Ezekiel, who, in glowing terms, has painted its final deſtruction, and who, it may be remarked, is ſuppoſed to have lived at the very time the Phœnicians ſailed round Africa by order of Necho. "Thy riches and thy fairs, thy merchandiſe, thy mariners and "thy pilots, thy caulkers, and the occupiers of thy merchan-"dize, and all thy men of war that are in thee, and in all thy "company which is in the midſt of thee, ſhall fall into the "midſt of the ſeas in the day of thy ruin." It is probable therefore that the navigation of the Eaſtern Seas was known in the earlieſt periods of hiſtory, and there ſeems to be no reaſon for ſuppoſing that the Chineſe ſhould not have had their ſhare in it.

Without, however, making any enquiry into the probability that an ancient intercourſe might have ſubſiſted between China and the Eaſt coaſt of Africa, either by convention for commercial purpoſes, or that Chineſe ſailors might have been thrown on that coaſt either in Phœnician, or Arabian, or their own veſſels, I happened to obſerve in a former publication of "*Travels* "*in Southern Africa*," as a matter of fact, "that the upper lid of "the eye of a real Hottentot, as in that of a Chineſe, was "rounded into the lower on the ſide next the noſe, and that it "formed not an angle as in the eye of an European—that "from this circumſtance they were known in the colony of "the Cape by the name of *Chineſe Hottentots*." Further obſervations have confirmed me in the very ſtriking degree of reſemblance between them. Their phyſical characters agree in almoſt

almoſt every point. The form of their perſons in the remarkable ſmallneſs of the joints and the extremities, their voices and manner of ſpeaking, their temper, their colour and features, and particularly that ſingular ſhaped eye rounded in the corner next the noſe like the end of an ellipſis, probably of Tartar or Scythian origin, are nearly alike. They alſo agree in the broad root of the noſe; or great diſtance between the eyes: and in the oblique poſition of theſe, which, inſtead of being horizontal, as is generally the caſe in European ſubjects, are depreſſed towards the noſe. A Hottentot who attended me in travelling over Southern Africa was ſo very like a Chineſe ſervant I had in Canton, both in perſon, features, manners, and tone of voice, that almoſt always inadvertently I called him by the name of the latter. Their hair, it is true, and that only differs. This, in a Hottentot, is rather harſh and wiry, than woolly, neither long, nor ſhort, but twiſted in hard curling ringlets reſembling fringe. I poſſeſs not a ſufficient degree of ſkill in phyſiology to ſay what kind of hair the offspring would have of a Chineſe man and Moſambique woman; much leſs can I pretend to account for the origin of the Hottentot tribes, inſulated on the narrow extremity of a large continent, and differing ſo remarkably from all their neighbours, or where to look for their primitive ſtock unleſs among the Chineſe.

I am aware it will appear rather ſingular to thoſe, who may have attended to the accounts that generally have been given of theſe two people, to meet with a compariſon between the moſt poliſhed and the moſt barbarous, the wiſeſt and the moſt ignorant of mankind; and I am therefore the leſs ſurprized at

at an obſervation made by the writers of the Critical Review "that the fœtus of the Hottentots may reſemble the Chineſe, as "the entrails of a pig reſemble thoſe of a man; but on this "topic our ingenious author ſeems to wander beyond the circle "of his knowledge." I hope theſe gentlemen will not be offended at my taking this occaſion to aſſure them that the compariſon was not even then made on looſe grounds, although no inference was drawn from it, and that on a cloſer examination, I am the more convinced of their near reſemblance in mental as well as phyſical qualities. The aptitude of a Hottentot in acquiring and combining ideas is not leſs than of a Chineſe, and their powers of imitation are equally great, allowance being made for the difference of education; the one being continually from his infancy brought up in a ſociety where all the arts and conveniencies of life are in common uſe; the other among a miſerable race of beings in conſtant want even of the common neceſſaries of life.

But as aſſertions and opinions prove nothing, I have annexed the portrait of a real Hottentot, drawn from the life by Mr. S. Daniell, in order to compare it with one of a Chineſe, taken alſo from the life by Mr. Alexander; and I have no doubt that a cloſe compa[illegible] theſe portraits will convince the reader, as well as the reviewer, that the reſemblance I remarked to have found was not altogether fanciful.

Indeed the people that have derived their origin from the ſame ſtock with the Chineſe, are more widely ſcattered over the Aſiatic continent and the oriental iſlands than is generally imagined.

imagined. All thoſe numerous ſocieties, known under the common name of Malays, are unqueſtionably deſcended from the ancient inhabitants of Scythia or Tartary; and it may perhaps be added, that their connection with the Arabs and their converſion to Iſlamiſm firſt inſpired, and have now rendered habitual, that cruel and ſanguinary diſpoſition for which they are remarkable; for it has been obſerved that the natives of thoſe iſlands, to which the baleful influence of this religion has not extended, have generally been found a mild and inoffenſive people; as was the caſe with regard to the natives of the Pelew iſlands when diſcovered by Captain Wilſon.

The peruſal of Mr. Marſden's excellent hiſtory of Sumatra leaves little doubt on my mind that a Chineſe colony at ſome early period has ſettled on that iſland. This author obſerves that the eyes of the Sumatrans are little, and of the ſame kind as thoſe of the Chineſe; that they ſuffer their nails to grow long; that they excel in working fillagree, making gunpowder, &c. that they regiſter events by making knots on cords; that they count decimally; write with a ſtyle on bamboo; that they have little hair on their bodies and heads, which little, like the Chineſe, they extract. In their language, many words, I perceive, are ſimilar; and the correſponding words expreſs the ſame idea in both languages; but on etymological compariſons I would be underſtood to lay little ſtreſs, for reaſons which will be aſſigned in the ſixth chapter. The ſimilitude of a religious ceremony is much ſtronger ground to build upon; and the coincidence is ſufficiently remarkable, that the manner practiſed by the Sumatrans in taking a ſolemn oath ſhould exactly agree with the ſame ce-

remony which is uſed in giving a ſolemn pledge among the common people of China, namely, by wringing off the head of a cock. Captain Mackintoſh told me that having once occaſion to place great confidence in the maſter of a Chineſe veſſel, and doubting leſt he might betray it, the man felt himſelf conſiderably hurt, and ſaid he would give him ſufficient proof that he was to be truſted. He immediately procured a cock, and, falling down on both knees, wrung off his head; then holding up his hands towards heaven, he made uſe of theſe words: "If I act otherwiſe than as I have ſaid, do thou, *o tien*, (Hea-" ven) deal with me as I have dealt with this cock!"

I have ſince been informed, from the beſt authority, that whenever, in the courſe of the concerns of the Britiſh Eaſt India Company with the merchants of China, it may be neceſſary to adminiſter an oath to a Chineſe, the ſame ceremony is gone through of wringing off the head of a cock, which is by them conſidered in a very ſerious light, a ſort of incantation, whoſe effects upon their minds are not unlike thoſe produced by ſuppoſed magic ſpells, once common in our own country, by which the vulgar were perſuaded that the Devil was to be made to appear before them. In a Chineſe court of juſtice an oath is never adminiſtered. In a late affair, where a Chineſe was killed by a ſeaman of a Britiſh man of war, and the Captain was about to adminiſter an oath to two of his people whom he produced as evidences in a Chineſe court of juſtice, the chief judge was ſo ſhocked, that he ordered the court to be inſtantly cleared.

The

The *Cingaleſe* are unqueſtionably of Chineſe origin. Thoſe who are acquainted with the Chineſe manners and character, will immediately perceive the very cloſe reſemblance, on reading Mr. Boyd's relation of his embaſſy to the King of Candy. *Sin-quo*, kingdom of *Sin*, (from whence Sina, or China,) are Chineſe words; the termination is European. So alſo is the name of the iſland Chineſe, *See-lan*, *See-long*, or *See-lung*, the Weſtern Dragon, in conformity to an invariable cuſtom of aſſigning the name of ſome animal to every mountain.

Having no intention, however, to inveſtigate minutely the extent of Chineſe navigation and commerce in ancient times, but rather to confine my obſervations to their preſent ſtate, I return from this digreſſion, in order to proceed on our voyage.

One of the ſmall brigs, attending the expedition, was diſpatched without loſs of time to the port of *Chu-San*, to take on board the pilots that, agreeable to the order contained in the Imperial edict, were expected to be found in readineſs to embark. In ſome of the paſſages, formed by the numerous iſlands, the currents ran with amazing rapidity, appearing more like the impetuous torrents of rivers, ſwelled by rains, than branches of the great ocean. The depth too of theſe narrow paſſages was ſo great as to make it difficult, dangerous, and frequently impoſſible, for ſhips to anchor in the event of a calm; in which caſe they muſt neceſſarily drive at the mercy of the ſtream. As we approached, in the Clarence brig, the high rocky point of the continent called *Kee-too*,

which juts into the midſt of the cluſter of iſlands, the wind ſuddenly failed us; and the current hurried us with ſuch velocity directly towards the point, that we expected momentarily to be daſhed in pieces; but on coming within twice the length of the ſhip of the perpendicular precipice, which was ſome hundred feet high, the eddy ſwept her round three ſeveral times with great rapidity. The Captain would have dropped the anchor, but an old Chineſe fiſherman, whom we had taken on board to pilot us, made ſigns that it was too deep, and, at the ſame time, that there was no danger, except that of the bowſprit ſtriking againſt the mountain. The Chineſe veſſels have no bowſprit. At this moment the lead was thrown, but we got no ſoundings at the depth of one hundred and twenty fathoms; yet the yellow mud was brought up from the bottom in ſuch quantities, that the Nile, at the height of its inundations, or the great Yellow River of China, could not be more loaded with mud than the ſea was in the whirlpool of *Kee-too* point. The current, in the Strait of Faro, ſetting directly upon the rocks of Scylla, and the whirlpool of Charybdis, thoſe celebrated objects of dread to ancient navigators, could not poſſibly have been more awfully terrific, though perhaps more dangerous, than the currents and the eddies that boiled tumultuouſly round this promontory of the Chineſe continent, where,

"When the tide ruſhes from her rumbling caves
"The rough rock roars; tumultuous boil the waves;
"They toſs, they foam, a wild confuſion raiſe,
"Like waters bubbling o'er the fiery blaze."

The ſecond whirl removed us to a conſiderable diſtance from the point, and, after the third, we were ſwept rapidly along in

in a ſmooth uniform current. Our interpreter, a Chineſe prieſt, who had been educated in the college *de propaganda fide* at Naples, was not quite ſo compoſed as his countryman the pilot. The poor fellow, indeed, had nearly been thrown overboard by the boom of the mainſail, in the firſt, which was the moſt rapid, whirl of the ſhip; the ſame blow ſtriking a ſailor toſſed his hat overboard; and it afforded ſome amuſement, in our ſuppoſed perilous ſituation, to hear the different ejaculations of theſe two perſons on the ſame occaſion. *Sanctiſſima Maria, eſt miraculum, eſt miraculum!* exclaimed the prieſt, with great eagerneſs; whilſt the ſailor, rubbing his head, and walking away, with much compoſure obſerved, *that the d—n'd boom had carried away his fore-top-gallant cap!*

The Chineſe, it ſeemed, had already been apprized of our arrival, for we had not proceeded far before a large veſſel bore down towards us, and, hailing the brig in their own language, deſired we would bring her to anchor, and that they would conduct us early the following morning into the harbour of Chu-ſan. Some of the officers came on board, were extremely civil, and preſented us with a baſket of fruit; but they affected to know nothing of the occaſion that had brought us thither. Our old fiſherman took out of the ſea, (among thouſands that had floated round our veſſel) one of thoſe animal ſubſtances which, I believe, we vulgarly call *ſea blubbers* (MOLLUSCA *meduſa porpita*). It was at leaſt a foot in diameter. Having dreſſed it for his ſupper, and ſeeing it wear the inviting appearance of a tranſparent colourleſs jelly, I was tempted to taſte it; but the effect

effect produced by this, or the fruit, or both, was a ſevere ſickneſs, which continued for ſeveral days.

We weighed anchor at day-break, and, with a pleaſant breeze, ſailed in company with the clumſy-looking *junk*, which, however, to the ſurprize of our ſeamen, ſailed quite as well as the ſmart-looking Clarence.

Having anchored before the town, in a ſpacious baſon formed by ſeveral iſlands, and paid the uſual compliment of a ſalute, a few Mandarines (officers of government ſo named by the early Portugueze from *mandar*, to command) came on board. To every queſtion that led to the main point of our viſit, theſe people gave us evaſive anſwers, affecting the moſt complete ignorance of every thing relating to the affairs of the embaſſy. They ſaid the *Tſung-ping*, or military governor of the iſland, was then abſent, but that he would return in the courſe of the day, and would be happy to ſee us on ſhore the following morning. Chineſe etiquette, I ſuppoſe, required that a day ſhould elapſe before our reception in form.

Accordingly, at an early hour in the morning the gentlemen of the embaſſy, who had been ſent on this buſineſs, went on ſhore, and were received by the Governor with great politeneſs, and abundant ceremony, in his hall of public audience, which, as a building, had little to attract our notice. The uſual minute enquiries being gone through, which, it ſeems, Chineſe good-breeding cannot diſpenſe with, ſuch as the health of his viſitors, of their parents and relations, and particularly the

the name and age of each perſon, the object of our viſit was explained to him; and at the ſame time a hope expreſſed that there would be no delay in getting the pilots on board. The old gentleman appeared to be much ſurprized at ſuch violent haſte, and talked of plays, feaſts, and entertainments, that he meant to give us. Pilots, however, he ſaid, were ready to take charge of the ſhips, and to carry them along the coaſt to the next province, where others would be found to conduct them ſtill farther. On being told that ſuch a mode of navigation was utterly impracticable for the large Engliſh ſhips, and that ſuch pilots would be of no uſe to us, he begged to be allowed the remainder of the day to enquire for others. We little expected to have met with any difficulties with regard to pilots, in one of the beſt and moſt frequented ports in China, where, at that time ſeveral hundred veſſels were lying at anchor. The remainder of the day was ſpent in a viſit to the city of *Ting-hai*; but the crowd became ſo numerous, and the day was ſo exceſſively hot, that before we had paſſed the length of a ſtreet, we were glad to take refuge in a temple, where the prieſts very civilly entertained us with tea, fruit, and cakes. The officer who attended us adviſed us to return in ſedan chairs, an offer which we accepted; but the bearers were ſtopped every moment by the crowd, in order that every one might ſatisfy his curioſity by thruſting his head in at the window, and exclaiming, with a grin, *Hung-mau! Engliſhman*, or, literally, *Redpate!* Rather diſappointed than gratified, we were glad, after a fatiguing day, to throw ourſelves into our cots on board the Clarence.

When we went on ſhore the following morning, we found the military governor, attended by a civil magiſtrate, by whom, after the uſual compliments, we were addreſſed, in a long oration, delivered apparently with a great deal of ſolemnity, the intention of which was to convince us that, as it had been the practice of the Chineſe, for time immemorial, to navigate from port to port, experience had taught them it was the beſt. Finding, however, that his eloquence could not prevail on his hearers to relinquiſh their own opinions on the ſubject, the governor and he conſulted together for ſome time, and at length reſolved that a general muſter ſhould be made of all the perſons in that place, who had at any time viſited by ſea the port of *Tien-ſing*.

A number of ſoldiers were accordingly diſpatched, and ſoon returned, with a ſet of the moſt miſerable-looking wretches I ever beheld; who were thruſt into the hall, and dropping on their knees, were examined in that attitude, as to their qualifications. Some, it appeared, had been at the port of *Tien-ſing*, but were no ſeamen; others followed the profeſſion, but had never been at that port; and ſeveral were hauled in, who had never ſet a foot on board a veſſel of any deſcription whatſoever. In ſhort, the greater part of the day was conſumed to no purpoſe; and we were about to conclude that we had a great chance of leaving the central and much-frequented harbour of *Chu-ſan*, without being able to procure a ſingle pilot, when two men were brought in, who ſeemed to anſwer the purpoſe better than any which had yet been examined. It appeared, however, that they had quitted the ſea for many years, and being

being comfortably ſettled in trade, had no deſire to engage in the preſent ſervice; on the contrary, they begged on their knees that they might be excuſed from ſuch an undertaking. Their ſupplications were of no avail. The Emperor's orders muſt be obeyed. In vain did they plead the ruin of their buſineſs by their abſence, and the diſtreſs it would occaſion to their wives, their children, and their families. The Governor was inexorable; and they were ordered to be ready to embark in the courſe of an hour.

This arbitrary proceeding of the Governor conveyed no very exalted ideas of the juſtice or moderation of the government, or of the protection it afforded to the ſubject. To drag away from his family an honeſt and induſtrious citizen, ſettled in trade, and to force him into a ſervice that muſt be ruinous to his concerns, was an act of injuſtice and violence that could not be tolerated in any other than a deſpotic government, where the ſubject knows no laws but the will of the tyrant. But we are yet on a diſtant iſland of the Great Empire, remote from the fountain of authority; and delegated power, in all countries, is but too liable to be abuſed. Beſides, a Chineſe might be impreſſed with ſentiments equally unfavourable of our government, were he informed of the manner in which imperious neceſſity ſometimes requires our navy to be manned.

One conſideration, however, might with ſafety be drawn from the occurrences of this day, which was this, that long voyages are never undertaken where they can be avoided; but that the commerce of the Yellow Sea is carried on from

port to port; and that the articles of merchandize ſo tranſported muſt neceſſarily have many profits upon them, before they come to the diſtant conſumer; which may, in ſome degree, account for the high prices many of the products of the country, as we afterwards found, bore in the capital. In like manner was the inland commerce of Aſia conducted by caravans, proceeding from ſtation to ſtation, at each of which were merchants to buy or exchange commodities with each other, thoſe at the limits of the journey having no connection nor communication whatſoever with one another; which will partly explain the ignorance of the Greeks with regard to the Eaſtern countries, from whence they derived their precious ſtones, perfumes, and other valuable articles.

The old Governor was evidently relieved from a load of anxiety at his ſucceſs; and the tears and entreaties of the poor men ſerved only to brighten up his countenance. From civility, or curioſity, or perhaps both, he returned our viſit on board the brig, which had been crowded with the natives from morning till night, ſince her firſt arrival in the harbour. The want of curioſity, which has been ſuppoſed to form a part of the Chineſe character, was not perceived in this inſtance; but it was that ſort of curioſity, which appeared rather to be incited by the deſire of looking narrowly at the perſons of thoſe who were to have the honour of being preſented to their Great Emperor, than for the ſake of gratifying the eye or the mind, by the acquirement of information or new ideas. The veſſel, although ſo very different from their own, was an object of little notice; and although eager to get a tranſient glance at the

the paſſengers, their curioſity was ſatisfied in a moment, and was generally accompanied with ſome vague exclamation, in which the words *Ta-whang-tee* occurred; and the main drift of which ſeemed to imply, "is this perſon to appear "before our Great Emperor?" This was ſtill more remarkable in the crowd of *Ting-hai;* nothing ſcarcely was there heard but the words *Ta-whang-tee* and *Hung-mau*, the Emperor and the Engliſhman.

The ſquadron had ſcarcely got under way, and cleared the narrow paſſages between the iſlands into the Yellow Sea, when it was perceived how very little advantage it was likely to derive from the Chineſe pilots. One of them, in fact, had come on board without his compaſs, and it was in vain to attempt to make him comprehend ours. The moveable card was to him a paradox, as being contrary to the univerſal practice with them, of making the needle traverſe the fixed points, and not the points deſcribed on the card to move (by the needle being attached to the card), as in thoſe of Europe. The other was furniſhed with a compaſs, about the ſize of a common ſnuff-box, being an entire piece of wood, with a circular excavation in the centre, juſt large enough to admit the vibration of a very fine ſteel needle, not quite an inch in length, which, however, might be found ſufficiently uſeful, in their ſhort voyages, by means of a peculiar contrivance for preſerving the center of gravity, in all poſitions of the ſhip, in coincidence nearly with the center of ſuſpenſion. Nor is it neceſſary, in ſo ſhort and fine a needle, to load one end more than the other, in order to counteract the dip, or tendency that the magnetic

needle is known to have, more or leſs, towards the horizon in different parts of the world. The Chineſe, however, do not ſeem to have adopted their ſmall needle from any knowledge either of the variation, or of the inclination of the magnetic needle. Although the needle be invariably ſmall, yet it ſometimes happens that the margin of the box is extended to ſuch a ſize, as to contain from twenty to thirty concentric circles, containing various characters of the language, conſtituting a compendium of their aſtronomical (perhaps more properly ſpeaking) aſtrological knowledge. As numbers of ſuch compaſſes are in the muſeums of Europe, it may not perhaps be wholly unacceptable to give ſome notion of what theſe circles of characters contain.

1. Central circle, or the needle.
2. 8 myſtical characters denoting the firſt principles of matter, ſaid to be invented by *Fo-ſhee*, the founder of the monarchy.
3. The names of the 12 hours into which the day is divided.
4 and 5. Names of the circumpolar ſtars.
6. Characters of the 24 principal meridians or colures.
7. The 24 ſubdiviſions or ſeaſons of the year.
8. The characters of the cycle of 60 years.
9. Numerical characters relating to the above cycle.
10. Characters denoting the 28 ſigns of the Zodiac.
11. Certain aſtrological characters.
12. Eight ſentences explanatory of the 8 myſtical characters on the ſecond circle.
13. A different arrangement of the Chineſe cycle.
14. Characters of the five elements.

15. Re-

15. Repetition of the characters on the eighth circle.
16. Repetition of the eighth circle.
17, and 18. Characters of obſcure mythology.
19. Names of 28 conſtellations and their places in the heavens.
20. Relates to the ſixth and fifteenth circles.
21. The world divided according to the ſidereal influences.
22. Correſponds with the eighth and ſixteenth circles.
23. Contains the ſame as the above with the addition of the fourteenth circle.
24, and 25. Are inexplicable even by the Chineſe.
26. An arrangement of certain characters and marks for calculating lucky, unlucky, and neutral days.

27, is the ſame as the nineteenth, and ſurrounds the whole *.

The greateſt depth of the Yellow Sea, in the track of the ſhips, did not exceed thirty-ſix fathoms, and it was frequently diminiſhed to ten fathoms. The weather, as uſually happens in ſhallow ſeas, was generally hazy. In doubling the projecting promontory of the province of Shan-tung, the land was hidden in thick fogs. And on theſe, fortunately, diſſipating, it was perceived that the whole ſquadron was within four miles of the main land, and one of the ſhips cloſe upon a rocky iſland. The pilots were as ignorant of our ſitua-

* If any argument were wanting to prove the originality of the magnetic needle as uſed in China, the circumſtance of their having ingrafted upon it their moſt ancient and favourite mythology, their cycles, conſtellations, elements, and, in ſhort, an abſtract of all their aſtronomical or aſtrological ſcience, is quite ſufficient to ſettle that point. Thoſe who are acquainted with the Chineſe character will not readily admit that their long eſtabliſhed ſuperſtitions ſhould be found incorporated on an inſtrument of barbarian invention.

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tion as the meaneſt ſailor in the ſquadron. Proceeding to the weſtward, a capacious bay was diſcovered. One of the pilots, after a minute examination of the land, which was now clear, aſſerted that he knew the place very well; that it was the bay of *Mee-a-taw*. The confidence with which he ſpoke, and the vaſt concourſe of people, crowding down towards the ſhore, as if expecting our arrival, induced the Commander to ſteer directly into the bay: but the depth of water diminiſhing to five fathoms, and land appearing on every ſide, it was thought prudent to let go the anchor. Several boats from the ſhore were preſently along-ſide; and we were ſoon convinced how little we had to truſt to the knowledge of our pilots, even within ſight of land. We were informed that the bay was called *Kee-ſan-ſeu*, and that *Mee-a-taw* was, at leaſt, fifteen leagues farther to the weſtward.

The hills along this ſouthern coaſt of the gulph of Pe-tche-lee have a very peculiar character. They are all of the ſame form and nearly of the ſame ſize, being regular cones with ſmooth ſides as if faſhioned by art, and entirely detached, each ſtanding on its proper baſe, reſembling in their ſhapes the ſummer caps worn by the officers of government; and having, as yet, no European names, they were noticed in the journals by the appellation of the firſt, ſecond, third, &c., mandarin's bonnets.

Determining now to avail ourſelves of the advice given by the magiſtrate of *Chu-ſan*, and to navigate from port to port, we here procured two new pilots to carry the ſhips to *Mee-a-taw*. They brought us indeed to this place, but, inſtead of a harbour

harbour, we found only a narrow ſtrait, with a rapid tide ſetting through it, and rocky anchoring ground. On the ſhore of the continent was a city of conſiderable extent, under the walls of which next the ſea was a baſon or dock, filled with veſſels whoſe capacity might be from ten to one hundred tons.

The Governor of this city (the name of which we learned to be *Ten-tchoo-foo*) paid his reſpects to the embaſſador on board the Lion, and obſerved in the courſe of converſation that his orders from court were to render all the ſervice in his power to the embaſſy, and to provide proper means of conveyance, either by land or by ſea. He ſeemed to be about the age of five and thirty, a man of frank and eaſy manners, courteous, intelligent, and inquiſitive. He ſtood higher in the opinion of all of us than any we had yet ſeen. The following morning he ſent off what he was pleaſed to call a trifling refreſhment, which conſiſted of four bullocks, eight ſheep, eight goats, five ſacks of fine white rice, five ſacks of red rice, two hundred pounds of flour, and ſeveral baſkets of fruit and vegetables.

We have always been taught to believe that the Chineſe conſider us as barbarians; but we have hitherto no reaſon to ſay that they treated us as ſuch. At all events it was obvious that the expected arrival of the Britiſh embaſſy had made no ſlight impreſſion on the court of Pekin.

Here we once more ventured on another pilot to carry the ſhips acroſs the gulph of *Pe-tche-lee* to *Tien-ſing*. He was an old man of 70 years, and ſeemed to poſſeſs a perfect knowledge

of all the bays and harbours in the gulph. He drew on paper the ſketch of a port on the weſtern coaſt to which he undertook to carry the ſhips. Fortunately, however, for us, it was conſidered more ſafe to ſend the ſmall brigs a-head to ſound, than to place any confidence in men who had already ſo often deceived us. They had ſcarcely departed before the ſignal of danger was made; a new courſe was ſteered for the night, and early the following morning, the ſame ſignal was repeated. No land was now in ſight, yet the water had ſhallowed to ſix fathoms; it was therefore deemed prudent to come to an anchor. It was a very unuſual ſituation for ſuch large ſhips to ride thus at anchor in the middle of a ſtrange ſea, and out of ſight of land, yet liable, in caſe of blowing weather, to ſtrike againſt the bottom.

The commanders of the ſhips were exaſperated againſt the pilots, and theſe on their part were almoſt petrified with fear. The poor creatures had done their beſt, but they poſſeſſed neither ſkill nor judgment, or, perhaps, it may be more charitable to ſuppoſe that they were confuſed by the novelty of their ſituation. It was in vain to endeavour to make them comprehend the difference in the draught of water between their own ſhips and ours, which, in the latter, was as many fathoms as feet in the former, although they were palpably ſhewn, by a piece of rope, the depth that was required.

As it was evidently impracticable to proceed farther with our own ſhips towards the land, which was now from twelve to fifteen miles diſtant, and ſo very low as not to be viſible from

the deck, one of the tenders was diſpatched to the mouth of the *Pei-ho* or white river to report our arrival. Here two officers from the court had already embarked to wait on the Embaſſador, carrying with them a preſent of refreſhments, conſiſting of bullocks, hogs, ſheep, poultry, wine, fruit, and vegetables, in ſuch quantities, as to be more than ſufficient for a a week's conſumption of the whole ſquadron, amounting nearly to ſix hundred men. It conſiſted in twenty ſmall bullocks, one hundred hogs, one hundred ſheep, one thouſand fowls, three thouſand pumpkins, as many melons, apples, pears, plumbs, apricots, and other fruits, with an abundance of culinary vegetables. The wine was contained in large earthen jars whoſe covers were cloſely luted. Numbers of the hogs and the fowls had been bruiſed to death on the paſſage, which were thrown overboard from the Lion with diſdain, but the Chineſe eagerly picked them up, waſhed them clean and laid them in ſalt.

The number of veſſels they had diſpatched to take on ſhore the preſents and the baggage was between thirty and forty, the capacity of each not being leſs, and many of them more, than two hundred tons; ſo imperfect a judgment had theſe people formed of the quantity of articles to be tranſhipped. Theſe were the veſſels whoſe holds were divided into thirteen diſtinct compartments, ſeparated by partitions of two inch plank, the ſeams of which were caulked with a preparation of fine lime made from ſhells, and fibres of bamboo, in order to render them water-tight. Their ſails, cables, rigging and

cordage were all made of bamboo; and neither pitch nor tar was uſed on theſe or any part of the wood-work.

We detained about fifteen of theſe veſſels to take on ſhore the Embaſſador's ſuite, the preſents for the Emperor, and the baggage; after which the Britiſh ſhips returned to *Chu-ſan* without the aſſiſtance of the Chineſe pilots, whoſe ſkill in navigation was held very cheap, by the loweſt ſeamen on board.

On entering the *Pei-ho* we obſerved a number of buildings erected on the right bank, with roofs of matting, but decorated in the moſt fantaſtical manner, with different coloured ribbands and variegated ſilks; and about three hundred ſoldiers in their uniforms (which appeared to our eye not much adapted to military purpoſes) were drawn out, with a band of muſic, near a temporary landing-place conſtructed of wood; all of which we underſtood had been haſtily prepared for the reception of the Embaſſador; but as his Excellency was deſirous of reaching the capital without delay, he declined going on ſhore, preferring to ſtep into the accommodation yachts at once, that were ready to receive him, a little higher up the river, the moment that the preſents ſhould be tranſhipped into the river-craft. The officers who were deputed to conduct him to the capital obſerved, that ſo much haſte was not at all neceſſary, as the Emperor's birth-day was yet diſtant; theſe people having no other idea of an embaſſy, as it ſeemed, than that of its being a mere compliment to their Sovereign. The yellow flags diſ-

played

played at the maſt-heads of the river fleet, laden with the preſents, and conſiſting of ſeventeen ſail, gave, indeed, a more extended meaning of ſuch a miſſion. Theſe flags, in broad black characters, bore the following inſcription; *The Engliſh Embaſſador carrying Tribute to the Emperor of China.*

We found the yachts that were deſtined to convey us exceedingly convenient, more ſo indeed than any I have ſeen on our canals of England. They are flat bottomed, and draw only about fifteen inches of water. Their upper works are high, appearing indeed like a floating houſe. They have three apartments for the accommodation of paſſengers; the firſt an antichamber for the ſervants and baggage; the middle a commodious ſitting and dining room, about fifteen feet ſquare; and the third divided into two or three ſleeping rooms. Behind theſe is the kitchen; and ſtill farther aft, ſmall places like dog-kennels for the boatmen. Sometimes there is a kind of ſecond ſtory, upon the apartments, divided into little cells, that are juſt the length and breadth of a man. A Chineſe ſailor requires no room for luggage, his whole wardrobe being generally on his back. In the different operations employed for making the yachts proceed, they give no interruption to the paſſengers. A projecting gangway on each ſide of the veſſel, made of broad planks, ſerves as the paſſage from one end to the other.

The two officers that were ſent from court, to conduct the Embaſſador to the capital, paid a viſit to every yacht, and ſhewed the moſt earneſt deſire to pleaſe and to make us comfortable. Their names were *Van* and *Chou*, to which they annexed the title of

of *Ta-gin*, or *great man*. *Van* had the rank of Lieutenant-General in the army, and *Chou* was the Governor of a diſtrict in *Pe-tche-lee*. We obſerved in their manners no indication of that ſtiff and ceremonious conduct, which cuſtom obliges them to put on in public. On the contrary, they ſat down to table with us, endeavouring to learn the uſe of the knife and fork, and made themſelves extremely agreeable; lamented they were not able to hold converſation with us in our own language; and on going away, ſhook hands with us like Engliſhmen.

Proviſions, fruit, and wines (ſuch as the country affords) were ſent on board in ſuch profuſion, that I really believe the Chineſe boatmen, in the courſe of the paſſage up this river, were enabled to lay by their winter's ſtock from the ſurplus. In truth, as Sir George Staunton has obſerved, the hoſpitality, attention, and reſpect we hitherto experienced, were ſuch as ſtrangers meet with only in the Eaſtern parts of the world.

Nothing that could convey the idea of extraordinary wealth or comfort among the inhabitants, or of extraordinary abundance and fertility in the country, (unleſs in the copious ſupplies of our proviſions) had yet occurred, either at *Chu-ſan* or in the firſt three days' ſail up the *Pei-ho* towards the capital. The land on both ſides was low and flat, and inſtead of hedge-rows, trenches were dug to mark the boundaries of property. A ſmall proportion only was under cultivation. The greater part appeared to be ſour ſwampy ground, covered with coarſe graſs, with ruſhes, and the common reed. There were few trees, except near the villages, which were of mean appearance,

the houſes generally conſiſting of mud walls, one ſtory in height, and thatched with ſtraw or ruſhes. Here and there a ſolitary cottage intervened, but nothing that bore any reſemblance to the reſidence of a gentleman, or that could even be called a comfortable farm-houſe. And although villages were numerous, no aſſemblage of houſes were perceived, that properly could be claſſed under the name of a town, except that of *See-koo*, near the mouth of the river, and *Ta-koo*, a few miles higher, until we proceeded to the diſtance of about ninety miles, when we entered the ſuburbs of the large city of *Tien-ſing*, ſtretching, like London on the Thames, for ſeveral miles along each bank of the river *Pei-ho*. But neither the buildings nor the river would bear any compariſon, even with thoſe parts about Redriffe and Wapping. Every thing, in fact, that we had hitherto ſeen wore an air of poverty and meanneſs. After a long confinement on board a ſhip, to thoſe at leaſt who are not accuſtomed to it, almoſt any country appears to poſſeſs the charms of a Paradiſe; yet on our firſt landing in this celebrated empire to the preſent place, which is no great diſtance from the capital, I am perſuaded, that every individual of the embaſſy felt himſelf rather diſappointed in the expectations he had formed. If any thing excited admiration, it was the vaſt multitudes of people that, from our firſt arrival, had daily flocked down to the banks of the river, of both ſexes and of all ages. Their general appearance, however, was not ſuch as to indicate any extraordinary degree of happineſs or comfort. The beſt dreſſed men wore a ſort of velvet cap on their heads; a ſhort jacket, buttoned cloſe round the neck, and folded acroſs the breaſt, the ſleeves remarkably wide; the materials cotton cloth, black, blue,

blue, or brown ſilk, or European camblet; they wore quilted petticoats, and black ſattin boots. The common people were dreſſed in large ſtraw hats, blue or black cotton frocks, wide cotton trowſers, and thick clumſy ſhoes, ſometimes made of ſtraw. Some had coarſe ſtockings of cotton cloth; the legs of others were naked. A ſingle pair of drawers conſtituted indeed the whole clothing of a great portion of the crowd.

Never were poor women fitted out in a ſtyle ſo diſadvantageous for ſetting off their charms as thoſe who made their appearance on the banks of the *Pei-ho;* and we afterwards found that the dreſs of theſe, with ſome ſlight variations, was the common mode of the country. Bunches of large artificial flowers, generally reſembling *aſters*, whoſe colours were red, blue, or yellow, were ſtuck in their jet-black hair, which, without any pretenſions to taſte or freedom, was ſcrewed up cloſe behind, and folded into a ridge or knot acroſs the crown of the head, not very unlike (except in the want of taſte) to the preſent mode in which the young ladies of England braid their locks. Two bodkins of ſilver, braſs, or iron, were conſpicuouſly placed behind the head, in the form of an oblique croſs, which is the common mode of Malay women. Their faces and necks were daubed with white paint, the eyebrows blackened, and on the center of the lower lip, and at the point of the chin, were two ſpots, about the ſize of a ſmall wafer, of a deep vermillion colour. A blue cotton frock, like that of the men, reaching in ſome to the middle of the thigh, in others to the knee, was almoſt univerſal. A pair of wide trowſers, of different colours, but commonly either red, green,

or

or yellow, extended a little below the calf of the leg, where they were drawn close, in order the better to display an ankle and a foot, which for singularity at least, may challenge the whole world. This distorted and disproportionate member consists of a foot that has been cramped in its growth, to the length of four or five inches, and an ankle that is generally swollen in the same proportion that the foot is diminished. The little shoe is as fine as tinsel and tawdry can make it, and the ankle is bandaged round with party-coloured clothes, ornamented with fringe and tassels; and such a leg and foot, thus dressed out, are considered in China as superlatively beautiful.

The constant pain and uneasiness that female children must necessarily suffer, in the act of compressing, by means of bandages, the toes under the sole of the foot, and retaining them in that position until they literally grow into and become a part of it; and by forcing the heel forward, until it is entirely obliterated, make it the more wonderful how a custom, so unnatural and inhuman, should have continued for so many ages, at least such is the opinion, that its origin is entirely unknown, or explained by such fabulous absurdities as are too ridiculous to assign for its adoption.

Few savage tribes are without the unnatural custom of maiming or lopping off some part of the human body, as boring the lips and the cartilege of the nose, drawing or colouring the teeth, cutting off a joint from the fingers or toes, and otherwise practising, as they must suppose, improvements on nature. But on this consideration it would scarcely be fair

to conclude, that maiming the feet of the Chineſe ladies derived its origin from a period of time when they were yet in a ſavage ſtate, ſince we are in the daily habit of obſerving the moſt civilized and enlightened ſocieties ſtudying to find out beauties in defects, and creating them where nature had intended perfection. The Chineſe would no doubt be equally ſurprized at, and conſider as egregiouſly abſurd, the cuſtom of circumciſion, as practiſed by a great portion of Aſiatic nations; nor have we any reaſon to think they would not condemn the refinement of docks and crops among our horſes as an abſurd cuſtom, not leſs ridiculous in their eyes, than the little feet of their ladies are in ours. If they could not refrain from burſting into fits of laughter on examining the greaſe and powder with which our hair was disfigured; and if they ſometimes lamented that ſo much oil and flour had unneceſſarily been waſted, we might, perhaps, in the vanity of ſelf-importance, affect to pity their taſte; but ſetting cuſtom and prejudice apart, we had certainly no great reaſon to deſpiſe and ridicule the Chineſe, or indeed any other nation, merely becauſe they differ from us in the little points of dreſs and manners, ſeeing how very nearly we can match them with ſimilar follies and abſurdities of our own.

The ſilence of the earlieſt travellers into China on ſo extraordinary a cuſtom, would almoſt warrant a conjecture that, notwithſtanding the pretended ignorance of the Chineſe with regard to its origin, both the faſhion and the ſentiment of its being vulgar for ladies to be ſeen abroad, were only adopted within the period of a few centuries. The Venetian traveller, although

although he makes frequent mention of the beauty and dreſs of the women, takes no notice of this ſingular faſhion; and he obſerves that on the lake of *Hang-tchoo-foo* the ladies are accuſtomed to take their pleaſure with their huſbands and their families. The Embaſſadors alſo of Shah Rokh, the ſon of Tamerlane, who in the year 1419, were ſent to congratulate the Emperor of China, ſtate in the narrative of their expedition that, at their public reception, there ſtood two young virgins, one on each ſide of the throne, with their faces and boſoms uncovered; that they were furniſhed with paper and pencils and took down with great attention every word that the Emperor ſpoke. Theſe Embaſſadors ſaw alſo numbers of women in open baths near the Yellow river; and, in one city, they remark that "there were many taverns, at the doors of which ſat a "number of young girls of extraordinary beauty." Nor do the travels of two Mahomedans into China in the ninth century, publiſhed by Mr. Renaudot, make any mention of the unnatural ſmallneſs of the women's feet; and they are not by any means deficient in their obſervations of the manners and cuſtoms of this nation, at that time ſo very little known to the reſt of the world. Almoſt every thing they have related concerning China at this early period is found to be true at the preſent day, and as they particularly notice the dreſs and ornaments worn by the women, one would think they would not have omitted a cuſtom ſo ſingular in its kind as that of maiming the feet, if it had then been as common as it now is.

This monſtrous faſhion has generally been attributed to the jealouſy of the men. Admitting this to have been the caſe, the Chineſe muſt be allowed to be well verſed in the management of the ſex, to have ſo far gained the aſcendancy over them, as to prevail upon them to adopt a faſhion, which required a voluntary relinquiſhment of one of the greateſt pleaſures and bleſſings of life, the faculty of locomotion; and to contrive to render this faſhion ſo univerſal that any deviation from it ſhould be conſidered as diſgraceful. The deſire of being thought ſuperior to the reſt of his fellows ſometimes, indeed, leads a man into ſtrange extravagancies. Upon this principle the men of learning, as they are pleaſed to ſtyle themſelves, ſuffer the nails of their little fingers to grow ſometimes to the enormous length of three inches for the ſole purpoſe of giving ocular demonſtration of the impoſſibility of their being employed in any ſort of manual labour; and upon the ſame principle, perhaps, the ladies of China may be induced to continue the cuſtom of maiming their female infants, in order that their children may be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of the peaſantry, who, in moſt of the provinces, are condemned to ſubmit to the drudgery of the field.

The interior wrappers of the ladies' feet are ſaid to be ſeldom changed, remaining, ſometimes, until they can no longer hold together; a cuſtom that conveys no very favourable idea of Chineſe cleanlineſs. This, indeed, forms no part of their character; on the contrary they are what Swift would call a *frowzy* people. The comfort of clean linen, or frequent change

On approaching the town of *Tien-ſing* we obſerved a prodigious number of large ſtacks of ſalt, piled up in ſacks of matting. The quantity thus ſtored was found, on rough calculation, to be ſufficient for the conſumption of thirty millions of people, for a whole year. Such a ſurpriſing aggregate of one of the uſeful and almoſt neceſſary, articles of life, was a preparative, in ſome meaſure, for the vaſt multitudes of people which appeared on our paſſing this northern emporium of China. The gabelle, or duty on ſalt, which the government here, as well as elſewhere, had found convenient to impoſe on one of the indiſpenſable articles of life, partly accounted for ſuch an extraordinary accumulation. The collector of the ſalt duties of *Tien-ſing* held one of the moſt lucrative appointments in the gift of the crown.

The crowds of large veſſels lying cloſe together along the ſides of the river; the various kinds of craft paſſing and repaſſing; the town and manufactories and warehouſes extending on each bank as far as the eye could reach, indicated a ſpirit of commerce far beyond any thing we had hitherto met with. The large veſſels, the ſmall craft, the boats, the ſhores, the walls ſurrounding the houſes, the roofs were all covered with ſpectators. Our barges, being retarded in the narrow paſſages among the ſhipping, were at leaſt two hours in reaching the head of the town. During the whole time the populace ſtood in the water, the front rank up to the middle, to get a peep at the ſtrangers. Hitherto among the ſpectators there had generally appeared full as many of the fair ſex as of the other; and the elderly dames, in par-

particular, had been ſo curious as to dip their little ſtumps into the water in order to have a peep into the barges as they glided ſlowly along; but here, among the whole crowd, not a ſingle female was viſible. Although the day was extremely ſultry, the thermometer of Fahrenheit being 88° in the ſhade, as a mutual accomodation their heads were all uncovered, and their bald pates expoſed to the ſcorching rays of the ſun. It was an uncommon ſpectacle to ſee ſo many bronze-like heads ſtuck as cloſe together, tier above tier, as Hogarth's groupe, intended to diſplay the difference between character and caricature, but it lacked the variety of countenance which this artiſt has, in an inimitable manner, diſplayed in his picture.

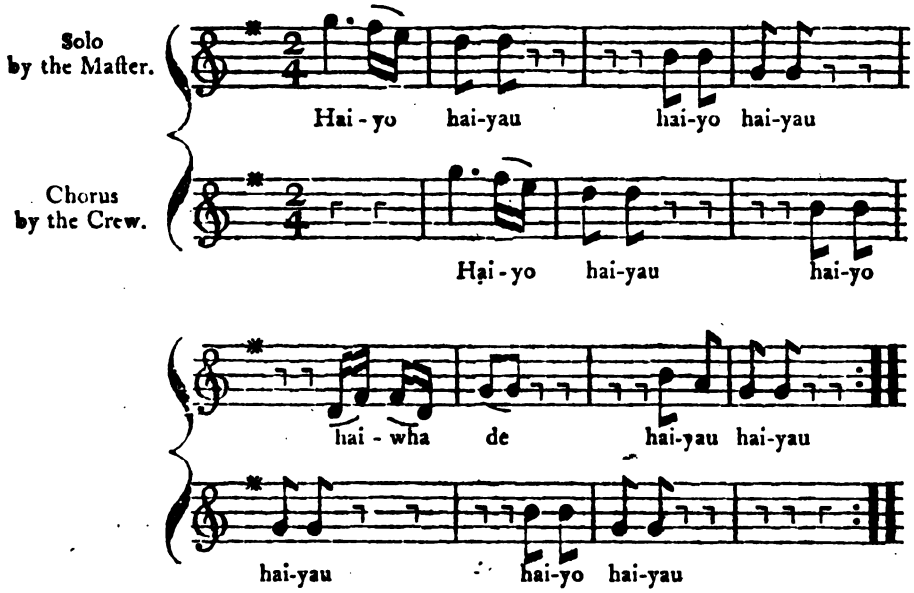
The deep ſounding *gong*, a ſort of brazen kettle ſtruck with a mallet, and uſed in the barges to direct the motions of the trackers on ſhore, the kettle-drums and the trumpets in the military band, the ſhrill muſic and ſqualling recitative in the theatre, which was entirely open in front, and facing the river in full view of the crowd; the number of temporary booths and buildings erected for the uſe of the viceroy, governor, judges, and other officers of government, and gaily decorated with ribbands and ſilken ſtreamers; the buzz and merriment of the crowd had, altogether, ſo ſtriking an affinity to the uſual entertainments of Bartholomew fair, that no extraordinary ſtretch of the imagination was required to ſuppoſe ourſelves for the moment to have been tranſported into Smithfield. We inſtantly acquitted the Chineſe of any want of curioſity. The arrival of Elfi Bey in London drew not half the crowd; and yet the Chineſe account

us much greater barbarians than we pretend to conſider the mamelukes. The old viceroy of the province, a Tartar of mild and winning manners, had prepared for us a moſt magnificent entertainment with wine, fruits, and great variety of paſtry and ſweetmeats, together with preſents of tea, ſilk, and nankins, not only to the Embaſſador and his ſuite, but alſo to the ſervants, muſicians, and ſoldiers.

The cheerful and good-natured countenances of the multitude were extremely prepoſſeſſing; not leſs ſo their accomodating behaviour to one another. There was an innocence and ſimplicity in their features, that ſeemed to indicate a happy and contented turn of mind. This, however, being a ſort of gala day, we might, on account of the extraordinary occaſion, perhaps have viewed them to the beſt advantage; yet the ſame cheerful and willing mind had conſtantly ſhewn itſelf on all occaſions, by all thoſe who were employed in the ſervice of the embaſſy. On board the yachts conſtant mirth and good humour prevailed among the ſeamen. When the weather was calm, the veſſels were generally puſhed on by means of two large ſculls or oars turning upon pivots that were placed in projecting pieces of wood near the *bow* of the veſſel, and not the ſtern, as is the practice of moſt other nations. From ſix to ten men are required to work one of theſe oars, which, inſtead of being taken out of the water, as in the act of rowing, are moved backwards and forwards under the ſurface, in a ſimilar manner to what in England is underſtood by ſculling. To lighten their labour, and aſſiſt in keeping time with the ſtrokes, the following rude air

air was generally ſung by the maſter, which the whole crew uſed to join in chorus:

AIR.



On many a calm ſtill evening, when a dead ſilence reigned upon the water, have we liſtened with pleaſure to this artleſs and unpoliſhed air, which was ſung, with little alteration through the whole fleet. Extraordinary exertions of bodily ſtrength, depending, in a certain degree, on the willingneſs of the mind, are frequently accompanied with exhilarating exclamations among the moſt ſavage people; but the Chineſe ſong could not be conſidered in this point of view; like the exclamations of our ſeamen in hauling the ropes, or the oar ſong of the Hebridians, which, as Doctor Johnſon has obſerved, reſembled the proceleuſmatick verſe by which the rowers of Grecian

galleys were animated, the chief object of the Chineſe chorus ſeemed to be that of combining chearfulneſs with regularity.

"Verſe ſweetens toil, however rude the ſound."

Of their honeſty, ſobriety, and carefulneſs, we had already received convincing proofs. Of the number of packages, amounting to more than ſix hundred, of various ſizes and deſcriptions, not a ſingle article was miſſing nor injured, on their arrival at the capital, notwithſtanding they had been moved about, and carried by land, and tranſhipped ſeveral times. Of the three ſtate-officers, who had been deputed from court to attend the embaſſy, two of them were the moſt obliging and attentive creatures imaginable. The third, a Tartar, who firſt made his appearance at *Tien-ſing*, was diſtant, proud, and imperious. The Chineſe indeed were invariably more affable than the Tartars. In ſhort, had we returned to Europe, without proceeding farther in the country than *Tien-ſing*, a moſt lively impreſſion would always have remained on my mind in favour of the Chineſe. But a variety of incidents that afterwards occurred, and a more intimate acquaintance with their manners and habits, produced a woeful change of ſentiment in this reſpect. Of ſuch incidents, as may tend to illuſtrate the moral character of this extraordinary people, I ſhall relate a few that were the moſt ſtriking, in taking a general view of their ſtate of ſociety, to which, and to the nature of the executive government, all their moral actions may be referred: and by the influence of which, the natural bent of their character evidently has undergone a complete change.

Leaving

Leaving *Tien-ſing* on the 11th of Auguſt, we found the river conſiderably contracted in its dimenſions, and the ſtream more powerful. The ſurface of the country, in fact, began to aſſume a leſs uniform appearance, being now partly broken into hill and dale; but nothing approaching to a mountain was yet viſible in any direction. It was ſtill however ſcantily wooded, few trees appearing except large willows on the banks, and knots of elms, or firs, before the houſes of men in office, and the temples, both of which were generally found at the head of each village. More grain was here cultivated than on the plains near the mouth of the river. Two ſpecies of millet, the *panicum crus galli*, and the *italicum*, and two of a larger grain, the *holcus ſorghum*, and the *ſaccharatus*, were the moſt abundant. We obſerved alſo a few patches of buck-wheat, and different ſorts of kidney-beans; but neither common wheat, barley, nor oats. A ſpecies of nettle, the *urtica nivea* was alſo ſown in ſquare patches, for the purpoſe of converting its fibres into thread, of which they manufacture a kind of cloth. We ſaw no gardens nor pleaſure-grounds, but conſiderable tracts of paſture or meadow-land intervened between the villages, on which however were few cattle, and thoſe few remarkably ſmall. Thoſe we procured for the uſe of the ſhips along the coaſt of the gulph of *Pe-tche-lee*, ſeldom exceeded the weight of two hundred pounds. The few ſheep we ſaw were of the broad-tailed ſpecies. The cottages of the peaſantry were very mean, without any appearance of comfort, and thinly ſcattered; ſeldom ſtanding alone, but generally collected into ſmall villages.

If, however, cities, towns, villages, and farm-houſes, were leſs abundant ſo near the capital, than from the relations of travellers we had expected to find them, the multitudes of inhabitants whoſe conſtant dwelling was on the water, amply made up the apparent deficiency on ſhore. We paſſed, in one day, upon this river, more than ſix hundred large veſſels, having each a range of ten or twelve diſtinct apartments built upon the deck, and each apartment contained a whole family. The number of perſons in one of theſe veſſels, we reckoned, on an average, to be about fifty, and we actually counted above one thouſand veſſels of this deſcription, that were floating on that part of the river, between *Tien-ſing* and *Tong-tchoo*. The different kinds of craft, beſides theſe, that were perpetually paſſing and re-paſſing, or lying chained to the banks of the river, all of which were crowded with men, women, and children, contained full as many as the large veſſels above mentioned; ſo that, in the diſtance of ninety miles, on this ſmall branch of a river, there were floating on the water not fewer than one hundred thouſand ſouls.

Among the different cargoes of cotton wool, copper-money, rice, ſilk, ſalt, tea, and other commodities for the ſupply of the capital, we obſerved an article of commerce, in ſeveral of the large open craft, that puzzled us not a little to find out for what it was intended. It conſiſted of dry brown cakes, not much larger but thicker than thoſe we call crumpets. A cloſe examination, however, ſoon diſcovered the nature of their compoſition, which, it ſeemed, was a mixture of every kind of filth and excrementitious ſubſtances, moulded into their preſent ſhape, and dried in the ſun. In this form they are carried to

the capital as articles of merchandize, where they meet with a ready market from the gardeners in the vicinity; who, after diſſolving them in urine, uſe them for manure.

Little occurred that was worthy of note, between *Tien-ſing* and *Tong-tchoo*, except an inſtance in the exerciſe of arbitrary power, not leſs cruel than that of the Governor of *Chu-ſan*, and ill agreeing with the feelings of Engliſhmen. Some of our proviſions happened one morning to be a little tainted, which could not be wondered at, conſidering the heat of the weather, the mercury, by Fahrenheit's ſcale, being from 82° to 88°. The officers, however, who had been commiſſioned to furniſh the ſupply of proviſions, were inſtantly deprived of their rank, and all their ſervants ſeverely bambooed. The Embaſſador interceded with *Van* and *Chou* in favour of the degraded delinquents, was heard with great attention, but perceived that little indulgence or relaxation from ſtrict diſcipline was to be expected on ſuch occaſions.

The whole diſtance, from the entrance of the *Pei-ho* to the city of *Tong-tchoo* is about one hundred and ſeventy miles. Here we found two buildings, that had been erected in the ſpace of two days, for the temporary purpoſe of receiving the preſents and baggage; and they were conſtructed of ſuch large dimenſions, that they were capable of containing at leaſt ten times the quantity. The materials were wooden poles and mats, and a fence of wooden paling ſurrounded the whole.

We took up our lodging in a ſpacious temple in the ſuburbs, from whence the prieſts were turned out without the leaſt ceremony

ceremony, to make room for us, conſiſting in the whole of one hundred perſons nearly. And here it was ſettled we ſhould remain until every article was landed, and coolies or porters procured ſufficient to carry the whole at once to Pekin, which was computed to be about twelve miles to the weſtward from this place. And although near three thouſand men were required for this purpoſe, they were ſupplied the inſtant the goods were all on ſhore; nor did it appear that any difficulty would have been found in raiſing double that number, as there ſeemed to be ten times the number of idle ſpectators as of perſons employed. The plain between the landing-place and the temple was like a fair, and cakes, rice, tea, and fruit upon maſſes of ice, and many other refreſhments were expoſed for ſale, under large ſquare umbrellas, that ſerved inſtead of booths. A ſlice of water-melon, cooled on ice, was ſold for one *tchen*, a piece of baſe copper coin, of the value of about three-tenths of a farthing. Not a ſingle woman appeared among the many thouſand ſpectators that were aſſembled on the plain.

CHAP. III.

Journey through the Capital to a Country Villa of the Emperor. Return to Pekin. The Imperial Palace and Gardens of Yuen-min-yuen, and the Parks of Gehol.

Order of Proceſſion from Tong-choo *to the Capital.—Crowd aſſembled on the Occaſion.—Appearance of Pekin without and within the Walls.—Some Account of this City.—Proceed to a Country Villa of the Emperor.—Inconveniencies of.—Return to Pekin.—Embaſſador proceeds to Tartary.—Author ſent to the Palace of* Yuen-min-yuen.*—Miſerable Lodgings of.—Viſit of the Preſident and Members of the Mathematical Tribunal.—Of the Biſhop of Pekin, and others.—Gill's Sword-blades.—Hatchett's Carriages.—Scorpion found in a Caſk packed at Birmingham.—Portraits of Engliſh Nobility.—Effects of Accounts from Tartary on the Officers of State in Pekin.—Emperor's return to the Capital.—Inſpects the Preſents.—Application of the Embaſſador for Leave to depart.—Short Account of the Palace and Gardens of* Yuen-min-yuen.*—Lord Macartney's Deſcription of the Eaſtern and Weſtern Parks of Gehol.—And his general Remarks on Chineſe Landſcape Gardening.*

THE preſents for the Emperor and our private baggage being all landed, the packages repaired, and every article minutely noted down by the officers of government, the porters were directed to fix their bamboo bearing poles to each package, that no impediment might prevent our ſetting out at an early hour in the morning. In doing this, as well as in landing the articles from the veſſels, the Chineſe porters ſhewed ſuch expedition, ſtrength, and activity, as could not, I believe, be paralleled

rallel or procured in ſo ſhort a time, in any other country. Every thing here, in fact, ſeems to be at the inſtant command of the ſtate; and the moſt laborious taſks are undertaken and executed with a readineſs, and even a chearfulneſs, which one could ſcarcely expect to meet with in ſo deſpotic a government.

According to the arrangement, on the 21ſt of Auguſt, about three o'clock in the morning, we were prepared to ſet out, but could ſcarcely be ſaid to be fairly in motion till five, and before we had cleared the city of *Tong-tchoo*, it was paſt ſix o'clock. From this city to the capital, I may venture to ſay, the road never before exhibited ſo motley a groupe. In front marched about three thouſand porters, carrying ſix hundred packages; ſome of which were ſo large and heavy, as to require thirty-two bearers: with theſe were mixed a proportionate number of inferior officers, each having the charge and ſuperintendence of a diviſion. Next followed eighty-five waggons, and thirty-nine hand-carts, each with one wheel, loaded with wine, porter, and other European proviſions, ammunition, and ſuch heavy articles as were not liable to be broken. Eight light field-pieces, which were among the preſents for the Emperor, cloſed this part of the proceſſion. After theſe paraded the Tartar legate, and ſeveral officers from court, with their numerous attendants; ſome on horſeback, ſome in chairs, and others on foot. Then followed the Embaſſador's guard in waggons, the ſervants, muſicians, and mechanics, alſo in waggons; the gentlemen of the ſuite on horſeback, the Embaſſador, the Miniſter Plenipotentiary, his ſon, and the interpreter, in four ornamented chairs; the reſt of the ſuite in ſmall covered carriages

on

on two wheels, not unlike in appearance to our funeral hearſes, but only about half the length; and laſt of all *Van* and *Chou*, with their attendants, cloſed this motley proceſſion.

Though the diſtance was only twelve miles, it was thought adviſeable by our conductors to halt for breakfaſt about half-way; for, as heavy bodies move ſlowly, what with the delay and confuſion in firſt getting into order, and the frequent ſtoppages on the road, we found it was eight o'clock before the whole of the cavalcade had reached the half-way houſe. Here we had a moſt ſumptuous breakfaſt of roaſt pork and veniſon, rice and made diſhes, eggs, tea, milk, and a variety of fruits ſerved up on maſſes of ice.

The porters and the heavy baggage moved forwards without halting; and having ended our comfortable repaſt, we followed without loſs of time. We had ſcarcely proceeded three miles, till we found the ſides of the road lined with ſpectators on horſeback, on foot, in ſmall carriages ſimilar to thoſe we rode in, in carts, waggons, and chairs. In the laſt were Chineſe ladies but, having gauze curtains at the ſides and front, we could ſee little of them. Several well-looking women in long ſilken robes, with a great number of children, were in the ſmall carriages. Theſe we underſtood to be Tartars. A file of ſoldiers now moved along with the proceſſion on each ſide of the road, armed with whips, which they continually exerciſed in order to keep off the crowd that increaſed as we approached the capital, and, at length, was ſo great as to obſtruct the road. We obſerved, however, that though the ſoldiers were very

active and noiſy in brandiſhing their whips, they only ſtruck them againſt the ground, and never let them fall upon the people. Indeed a Chineſe crowd is not ſo tumultuous and unruly as it generally is elſewhere.

The exceſſive heat of the weather, the duſtineſs of the road, the cloſeneſs of the carriages, and the ſlow manner in which we moved along, would have made this ſhort journey almoſt inſupportable, but from the novelty of the ſcene, the ſmiles, the grins, the geſtures of the multitude, and above all, the momentary expectation of entering the greateſt city on the ſurface of the globe. Thoſe alſo who had been ſo unlucky as to make choice of the little covered carriages, found themſelves extremely uncomfortable, notwithſtanding they are the beſt, the moſt eaſy and genteel ſort of carriage that the country affords. Being fixed on the wheels without ſprings, and having no ſeats in the inſide, they are to an European, who muſt ſit on his haunches in the bottom, the moſt uneaſy vehicles that can be imagined. Father Semedo, one of the earlieſt miſſionaries to China, aſſerts, that coaches were anciently in common uſe in this country, and that they were laid down on account of the great convenience and little expence of ſedan chairs. The coaches alluded to by the reverend father were, in all probability, the little carts above mentioned, for not the veſtige of any thing better is to be found among them; not the leaſt appearance of any thing like a ſpring carriage. It is more probable that palanquins and chairs have been in common uſe here and in India, from the earlieſt period of their hiſtories. The *lectica* of the Romans is ſuppoſed to have been brought to Rome in

in the time of the Republic from ſome of the eaſtern nations.

The great road to the capital lay acroſs an open country, ſandy and ill cultivated, and the few houſes on each ſide were of mean appearance, generally built with mud, or half burnt bricks, to the very gates of Pekin. The middle part of the road, for the width of eighteen or twenty feet, was paved with ſtones of granite from ſix to ſixteen feet in length and broad in proportion. Every one of theſe enormous flag ſtones muſt have been brought at leaſt ſixty miles, the neareſt mountains where quarries of granite are found being thoſe that divide China from Mantchoo Tartary, near the great wall.

A temple on the right of the road and a bridge of white marble having the balluſtrade ornamented with figures, meant to repreſent lions and other animals cut out of the ſame material, were the only objects that attracted any notice, until the walls and the lofty gates of the capital appeared in view. None of the buildings within, on this ſide of the city, overtopped the walls, though theſe did not appear to exceed twenty-five or at moſt thirty feet in height; they were flanked with ſquare towers, and ſurrounded by a moat or ditch. Theſe towers projected about forty feet from the line of the wall, and were placed at regular intervals of about ſeventy yards, being conſidered as bow-ſhot diſtance from each other. Each had a ſmall guard-houſe upon its ſummit. The thickneſs of the baſe of the wall was about twenty-five feet, and the width acroſs the top within

the parapets twelve feet; ſo that the ſides of the wall have a very conſiderable ſlope, much more however within than without. The middle part was compoſed of the earth that had been dug out of the ditch; and was kept together by two retaining walls, part of which were of brick and part of ſtone. The famous barrier on the borders of Tartary, and the ramparts of all the cities in the country, are built in the ſame manner.

No cannon were mounted on the walls nor on the baſtions; but in the high building which ſurmounted the gate, and which was ſeveral ſtories one above the other, the port-holes were cloſed with red doors, on the outſide of which were painted the repreſentations of cannon, not unlike at a diſtance the ſham ports in a ſhip of war. The gates of a Chineſe city are generally double, and placed in the flanks of a ſquare or ſemicircular baſtion. The firſt opens into a large ſpace, ſurrounded with buildings, which are appropriated entirely for military uſes, being the depôt of proviſions and ammunition, *place d'armes*, and barracks. Out of this place, in one of the flanks, the ſecond gate, having a ſimilar high building erected over it as the firſt, opens into the city.

The firſt appearance of this celebrated capital is not much calculated to raiſe high expectations, nor does it in the leaſt improve upon a more intimate acquaintance. In approaching an European city it generally happens that a great variety of objects catch the eye, as the towers and ſpires of churches, domes, obeliſks, and other buildings for public purpoſes towering above the reſt; and the mind is amuſed in conjecturing the form and

magnitude of their ſeveral conſtructions, and the uſes to which they may be applied. In Pekin not even a chimney is ſeen riſing above the roofs of the houſes which, being all nearly of the ſame height, and the ſtreets laid out in ſtraight lines, have the appearance and the regularity of a large encampment. The roofs would only require to be painted white, inſtead of being red, green, or blue, to make the reſemblance complete. Few houſes exceed the height of one ſtory, and none but the great ſhops have either windows or openings in the wall in front, but moſt of them have a ſort of terrace, with a railed balcony or parapet wall in front, on which are placed pots of flowers, or ſhrubs, or ſtunted trees.

This city is an oblong ſquare, the outward boundary of which is forty *lees*, each *lee* being ſix hundred yards, ſo that the incloſing wall is near fourteen Engliſh miles, and the area about twelve ſquare miles, independent of the extenſive ſuburbs at every gate. In the ſouth wall are three gates, and in each of the other ſides two, from whence it is ſometimes called *The city with nine gates*; but its uſual name is *Pe-ching*, or the Northern Court. The middle gate, on the ſouth ſide, opens into the Imperial city, which is a ſpace of ground within the general incloſure, in the ſhape of a parallelogram, about a mile in length from north to ſouth, and three-fourths of a mile from eaſt to weſt. A wall built of large red poliſhed bricks, and twenty feet high, covered with a roof of tiles painted yellow and varniſhed, ſurrounds this ſpace, in which are contained not only the imperial palace and gardens, but alſo all the tribunals, or public offices of government, lodgings for the miniſters,

niſters, the eunuchs, artificers, and tradeſmen belonging to the court. A great variety of ſurface, as well as of different objects, appear within this incloſure. A rivulet winding through it not only affords a plentiful ſupply of water, but adds largely to the beauties of the grounds, by being formed into canals and baſons, and lakes, which, with the artificial mounts, and rocks, and groves, exhibit the happieſt imitation of nature.

Between the other two gates, in the ſouth wall, and the correſponding and oppoſite ones on the north ſide of the city, run two ſtreets perfectly ſtraight, each being four Engliſh miles in length, and about one hundred and twenty feet in width. One ſtreet alſo of the ſame width runs from one of the eaſtern to the oppoſite weſtern gate, but the other is interrupted by the north wall of the imperial city, round which it is carried. The croſs ſtreets can be conſidered only as lanes branching from theſe main ſtreets at right angles; are very narrow; but the houſes in them are generally of the ſame conſtruction as thoſe in the great ſtreets. The large houſes of the ſtate officers are in theſe lanes.

Although the approach to Pekin afforded little that was intereſting, we had no ſooner paſſed the gate and opened out the broad ſtreet, than a very ſingular and novel appearance was exhibited. We ſaw before us a line of buildings on each ſide of a wide ſtreet, conſiſting entirely of ſhops and warehouſes, the particular goods of which were brought out and diſplayed in groupes in front of the houſes. Before theſe were generally erected large wooden pillars, whoſe tops were much higher than

than the eves of the houſes, bearing inſcriptions in gilt characters, ſetting forth the nature of the wares to be ſold, and the honeſt reputation of the ſeller; and, to attract the more notice, they were generally hung with various coloured flags and ſtreamers and ribbands from top to bottom, exhibiting the appearance of a line of ſhipping dreſſed, as we ſometimes ſee them, in the colours of all the different nations in Europe. The ſides of the houſes were not leſs brilliant in the ſeveral colours with which they were painted, conſiſting generally of ſky blue or green mixed with gold: and what appeared to us ſingular enough, the articles for ſale that made the greateſt ſhow were coffins for the dead. The moſt ſplendid of our coffin furniture would make but a poor figure if placed beſide that intended for a wealthy Chineſe. Theſe machines are ſeldom leſs than three inches thick, and twice the bulk of ours. Next to thoſe our notice was attracted by the brilliant appearance of the funeral biers and the marriage cars, both covered with ornamental canopies.

At the four points where the great ſtreets interſect one another were erected thoſe ſingular buildings, ſometimes of ſtone, but generally of wood, which have been called triumphal arches, but which, in fact, are monuments to the memory of thoſe who had deſerved well of the community, or who had attained an unuſual longevity. They conſiſt invariably of a large central gateway, with a ſmaller one on each ſide, all covered with narrow roofs; and, like the houſes, they are painted, varniſhed, and gilt in the moſt ſplendid manner.

The

The multitude of moveable workſhops of tinkers and barbers, coblers and blackſmiths; the tents and booths where tea and fruit, rice and other eatables were expoſed for ſale, with the wares and merchandize arrayed before the doors, had contracted this ſpacious ſtreet to a narrow road in the middle, juſt wide enough for two of our little vehicles to paſs each other. The cavalcade of officers and ſoldiers that preceded the embaſſy, the proceſſions of men in office attended by their numerous retinues, bearing umbrellas and flags, painted lanterns, and a variety of ſtrange inſignia of their rank and ſtation, different trains that were accompanying, with lamentable cries, corpſes to their graves, and, with ſqualling muſic, brides to their huſbands, the troops of dromedaries laden with coals from Tartary, the wheel-barrows and hand-carts ſtuffed with vegetables, occupied nearly the whole of this middle ſpace in one continued line, leaving very little room for the cavalcade of the embaſſy to paſs. All was in motion. The ſides of the ſtreet were filled with an immenſe concourſe of people, buying and ſelling and bartering their different commodities. The buz and confuſed noiſes of this mixed multitude, proceeding from the loud bawling of thoſe who were crying their wares, the wrangling of others, with every now and then a ſtrange twanging noiſe like the jarring of a cracked Jew's harp, the barber's ſignal made by his tweezers, the mirth and the laughter that prevailed in every groupe, could ſcarcely be exceeded by the brokers in the Bank rotunda, or by the Jews and old women in *Roſemary-Lane*. Pedlars with their packs, and jugglers, and conjurers, and fortune-tellers, mountebanks and quack-doctors comedians and muſicians, left no ſpace unoccupied. The Tartar ſoldiers, with their

their whips, kept with difficulty a clear paſſage for the embaſſy to move ſlowly forwards; ſo ſlow, indeed, that although we entered the eaſtern gate at half-paſt nine, it was near twelve before we arrived at the weſtern.

Although an extraordinary crowd might be expected to aſſemble on ſuch a particular occaſion, on the ſame principle of curioſity as could not fail to attract a crowd of ſpectators in London, yet there was a moſt remarkable and a ſtriking difference obſervable between a London and a Pekin populace. In the former the whole attention and ſoul of the multitude would have been wrapt up in the novel ſpectacle; all would have been idlers. In Pekin, the ſhew was but an acceſſary; every one purſued his buſineſs, at the ſame time that he gratified his curioſity. In fact, it appeared that, on every day throughout the whole year, there was the ſame noiſe and buſtle and crowd in the capital of China. I ſcarcely ever paſſed the weſtern gate, which happened twice, or oftener, in the week, that I had not to wait a conſiderable time before the paſſage was free, particularly in the morning, notwithſtanding the exertions of two or three ſoldiers with their whips to clear the way. The crowd, however, was entirely confined to the great ſtreets, which are the only outlets of the city. In the croſs lanes all was ſtill and quiet.

Women in Pekin were commonly ſeen among the crowd, or walking in the narrow ſtreets, or riding on horſeback, which they croſſed in the ſame manner as the men, but they were all Tartars. They wore long ſilken robes, reaching down to their feet; their ſhoes appeared to be as much above the common ſize,

as thoſe of the Chineſe are under it; the upper part was generally of embroidered ſatin, the ſole conſiſted of folds of cloth or paper, about an inch thick; they were ſquare in front, and a little turned up. The hair ſmoothed up on all ſides, not very different from that of the Chineſe; and though their faces were painted with white lead and vermillion, it was evident their ſkins were much fairer than thoſe of the former. The Chineſe women are more ſcrupulouſly confined to the houſe in the capital than elſewhere. Young girls were ſometimes ſeen ſmoking their pipes in the doors of their houſes, but they always retired on the approach of men.

All the ſtreets were covered with ſand and duſt: none had the leaſt pavement. The croſs lanes were generally watered, which did not appear to be the caſe in the main ſtreets. A large ſheet of water, ſeveral acres in extent, within the northern wall, affords to that part of the city, and to the palace an abundant ſupply of that element, as does alſo a ſmall ſtream which runs along the weſtern wall to that neighbourhood. There are beſides abundance of wells; but the water of ſome of theſe is ſo dreadfully nauſeous, that we, who were unaccuſtomed to it, were under the neceſſity of ſending to a diſtance to obtain ſuch as was free from mineral or earthy impregnations. When mixed with tea, the well water was particularly diſguſting.

Although Pekin cannot boaſt, like ancient Rome, or modern London, of the conveniencies of common ſewers to carry off the dirt and dregs that muſt neceſſarily accumulate in large cities, yet it enjoys one important advantage, which is rarely

found in capitals out of England: no kind of filth or naſtineſs, creating offenſive ſmells is thrown out into the ſtreets, a piece of cleanlineſs that perhaps may be attributed rather to the ſcarcity and value of manure, than to the exertions of the police officers. Each family has a large earthen jar, into which is carefully collected every thing that may be uſed as manure; when the jar is full, there is no difficulty of converting its contents into money, or of exchanging them for vegetables. The ſame ſmall boxed carts with one wheel, which ſupply the city with vegetables, invariably return to the gardens with a load of this liquid manure. Between the palace of *Yuen-min-yuen* and Pekin, I have met many hundreds of theſe carts. They are generally dragged by one perſon, and puſhed on by another; and they leave upon the road an odour that continues without intermiſſion for many miles. Thus, though the city is cleared of its filth, it ſeldom loſes its fragrance. In fact, a conſtant diſguſting odour remains in and about all the houſes the whole day long, from the fermentation of the heterogeneous mixtures kept above ground, which in our great cities are carried off in drains.

The medical gentlemen of China are not quite ſo ingenious, as we are told the faculty in Madrid were about the middle of the laſt century, when the inhabitants were directed, by royal proclamation, to build proper places of retirement to their houſes, inſtead of emptying their nocturnal machines out of the windows into the ſtreets. The inhabitants took it into their heads to conſider this order as a great affront, and a direct violation of the rights of man; but the doctors were the moſt

ſtrenuous oppoſers of the meaſure, having no doubt very cogent reaſons for wiſhing the continuance of the practice They aſſured the inhabitants, that if human excrement was no longer to be accumulated in the ſtreets, to attract the putreſcent particles floating in the air, they would find their way into the human body, and a peſtilential ſickneſs would be the inevitable conſequence.

The police of the capital, as we afterwards found, is ſo well regulated, that the ſafety and tranquillity of the inhabitants are ſeldom diſturbed. At the end of every croſs ſtreet, and at certain diſtances in it, are a kind of croſs bars, with ſentry boxes at each of which is placed a ſoldier, and few of theſe ſtreets are without a guard-houſe. Beſides, the proprietor or inhabitant of every tenth houſe, like the ancient tythingmen of England, takes it in turn to keep the peace, and be reſponſible for the good conduct of his nine neighbours. If any riotous company ſhould aſſemble, or any diſturbances happen within his diſtrict, he is to give immediate information thereof to the neareſt guard-houſe. The ſoldiers alſo go their rounds, and inſtead of crying the hour like our watchmen, ſtrike upon a ſhort tube of bamboo, which gives a dull hollow ſound, that for ſeveral nights prevented us from ſleeping until we were accuſtomed to it.

It took us full two hours, as I before obſerved, in paſſing from the eaſtern to the weſtern gate of Pekin. The clouds of duſt raiſed by the populace were here much denſer than on the road, and the ſmothering heat of the day, the thermometer in our little carts ſtanding at 96°, was almoſt inſupportable. Except the

the great crowd on every ſide, we ſaw little to engage the attention after the firſt five minutes. Indeed, a ſingle walk through one of the broad ſtreets is quite ſufficient to give a ſtranger a competent idea of the whole city. He will immediately perceive that every ſtreet is laid out in the ſame manner, and every houſe built upon the ſame plan; and that their architecture is void of taſte, grandeur, beauty, ſolidity, or convenience; that the houſes are merely tents, and that there is nothing magnificent, even in the palace of the Emperor:—but we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak on this ſubject hereafter. Aſk a Chineſe, however, what is to be ſeen that is curious or great in the capital, and he will immediately enter upon a long hiſtory of the beauties of the palace belonging to *Ta-whang-tee*, the mighty Emperor. According to his notions, every thing within the palace walls is gold and ſilver. He will tell you of gold and ſilver pillars, gold and ſilver roofs, gold and ſilver vaſes, in which are ſwimming gold and ſilver fiſhes. All, however, is not gold that glitters in China, more than elſewhere. The Emperor, as I ſhall hereafter have occaſion to notice, has very little ſurplus revenue at his diſpoſal, and is frequently diſtreſſed for money to pay his army and other exigences of the ſtate. And, though China has of late years drawn from Europe a conſiderable quantity of ſpecie, yet when this is ſcattered over ſo vaſt an extent of country, and divided among ſo many millions of people, it becomes almoſt as a drop thrown into the ſea. Moſt of the money, beſides, that enters China is melted down, and converted into articles of luxury or convenience. Few nations are better acquainted with the value of theſe precious metals than the Chineſe; and few, if any, can ſurpaſs their ingenuity

genuity in drawing out the one into thin leaves, and the other into the fineſt wire.

We were not a little overjoyed in finding ourſelves once more upon the flagged cauſeway, and in an open country, after paſſing a ſmall ſuburb beyond the weſtern gate of the city. They brought us to a villa which was a kind of appendage to one of the Emperor's palaces, about eight miles beyond Pekin. The buildings, conſiſting of a number of ſmall detached apartments, ſtraggling over a ſurface of ground, about fifteen acres in extent, were neither ſufficiently numerous to lodge the ſuite, nor to contain the preſents and our baggage; and were moreover ſo miſerably out of repair and in ſo ruinous a condition, that the greater part was wholly uninhabitable. The officers were accordingly told that theſe were not accomodations ſuitable to the dignity of a Britiſh Embaſſador, and that he would not on any conſideration put up with them; that it was a matter of indifference whether he was lodged in the city or the country, but that the lodgings ſhould be convenient and proper. The ſuperintending officers, upon this, cauſed a large temporary building to be erected with poles and mats, which, as by magic, was finiſhed in the courſe of the night, hoping, by this exertion, to have removed all objections to the place. His Lordſhip, however, being determined not to remain where there was neither a decent room, nor any kind of comfort or convenience, every building being entirely unfurniſhed, and, as I ſaid before, the greater number untenantable, inſiſted upon being removed to Pekin, where accordingly it was very ſoon announced there was a ſuitable houſe ready for his reception.

On

On returning to the capital we paſſed through the great ſtreet of a town called *Hai-tien* in which moſt of the houſes were of two ſtories, and before the upper of which was a kind of Véranda full of dwarf trees and flower-pots. A great proportion of the houſes were either butchers' ſhops or coffin-makers. From the end of this ſtreet was a moſt extenſive view of Pekin and the ſurrounding country. The eye from hence took in the whole length of the high ſtraight wall with its two lofty gates and numerous ſquare towers. At each angle of the wall is a large ſquare building riſing above the parapet to four heights or ſtories of port-holes, and covered with two roofs. In each row of the four fronts are fourteen windows or port-holes. Theſe I underſtood to be the rice magazines or public granaries. Near the north-weſt angle is a tall pagoda, another high tower not unlike a glaſs-houſe, and towards the higher weſtern gate appeared the upper part of a pyramidal building that terminated in a gilded flame, very like the ſummit of our monuments under which, inſtead of a gallery, was a moſt magnificent canopy or umbrella, painted and gilt with ſuch brilliant colours, that from certain points of view, when the rays of the ſun played upon it, the glittering appearance had a very good effect. It was ſaid to be a temple, and ſeemed to be of the ſame kind of architecture as the *Shoo-ma-doo* deſcribed by Col. Symes in his embaſſy to Ava.

We found our new lodging ſufficiently large, but the apartments were ſhamefully dirty, having been uninhabited for ſome time; very much out of repair, and totally unfurniſhed. This houſe, being conſidered as one of the beſt in the whole city, I ſhall have occaſion

occaſion to take notice of hereafter, in ſpeaking of the ſtate of their architecture. It was built by the late *Ho-poo*, or Collector of the cuſtoms at Canton, from which ſituation he was preferred to the collectorſhip of ſalt duties at *Tien-ſing*; where, it ſeems, he was detected in embezzling the public revenues, thrown into jail, and his immenſe property confiſcated to the crown. The officers appointed to attend the embaſſy told us, that when it was propoſed to the Emperor for the Engliſh Embaſſador to occupy this houſe, he immediately replied, "Moſt certainly, you "cannot refuſe the temporary occupation of a houſe to the "Embaſſador of that nation which contributed ſo very amply "towards the expence of building it." The inference to be drawn from ſuch a remark, is, that the court of Pekin is well aware of the extortions committed againſt foreigners at Canton.

The Emperor being at this time in Tartary, where he meant to celebrate the feſtival of the anniverſary of his birth-day, had given orders that the public introduction of the Britiſh Embaſſador ſhould be fixed for that day, and ſhould take place at Gehol, a ſmall town 136 miles from Pekin, where he had a large palace, park, gardens, and a magnificent *Poo-ta-la* or temple of Budha. Accordingly a ſelection was made of ſuch preſents as were the moſt portable, to be ſent forwards into Tartary; and the Embaſſador, with part of his ſuite, ſeveral officers of the court, and their retinue, ſet out from Pekin on the ſecond of September. Some of the gentlemen, with part of the guard and of the ſervants, remained in Pekin, and Dr. Dinwiddie and myſelf, with two mechanics, had apartments allotted to us in the palace of *Yuen-min-yuen*, where the largeſt and moſt valuable

luable of the preſents were to be fitted up for the inſpection of the old Emperor on his return from Tartary.

Having already acquired ſome little knowledge of the language on the paſſage from England, by the aſſiſtance of two Chineſe prieſts who had been ſent by their ſuperiors to Naples, for the purpoſe of being inſtructed in the Chriſtian religion, I hoped to find this temporary baniſhment leſs irkſome, particularly as I had previouſly ſtipulated with the officers belonging to that palace for an unconditional leave to viſit the capital whenever I ſhould find it neceſſary or proper, during the abſence of the Embaſſador; and, it is but fair to ſay, they kept faith to their engagement in the ſtricteſt ſenſe. A horſe and one of the little covered carts were always at my diſpoſal.

The gentlemen left in the city were leſs agreeably ſituated. At the outer gate of their lodgings a guard was ſtationed with orders to allow none of them to paſs, and all their proceedings and movements were cloſely watched. Sometimes they were a little relieved by occaſional viſits from the European miſſionaries; but ſo ſuſpicious were the officers of government of any communication with theſe gentlemen that they were invariably accompanied by ſome of them to act as ſpies, notwithſtanding they could not comprehend one ſingle word that was exchanged in the converſations they held together. A Chineſe has no knowledge whatſoever of any of the European languages. But he watches the actions, and even the motions of the eye, and makes his report accordingly. The courts of the houſe were conſtantly filled with the inferior officers of government and

their ſervants, all of whom had ſome poſt or other aſſigned to them connected with the Britiſh Embaſſy. One was the ſuperintendant of the kitchen, another furniſhed tea, one was appointed to ſupply us with fruit, another with vegetables, and another with milk.

During the time I ſhould be required to reſide in *Yuen-min-yuen*, I particularly wiſhed to have none other than Chineſe ſervants, that I might be under the neceſſity of extending the little knowledge I had already acquired of the ſpoken language. This is by no means difficult to learn except in the nice intonations or inflexions of voice, but the written character is, perhaps of all others, the moſt abſtruſe and moſt perplexing both to the eye and to the memory. The length of time that is uſually required by the Chineſe, together with the intenſe ſtudy and ſtretch of the memory which they find neceſſary in order to obtain a very ſmall proportion of the characters that form the language, are ſerious obſtructions to the progreſs of the arts and ſciences, but favourable to the ſtability of the government of which indeed the language may be conſidered as one of the great bulwarks. But the obſervations I have to make on this ſubject will more properly be reſerved for a ſeparate chapter.

On arriving at *Yuen-min-yuen* I found a number of Chineſe workmen buſily employed in breaking open the packages, ſome in one place and ſome in another, to the no little danger of the globes, clocks, glaſs luſtres, and ſuch like frangible articles, many of which muſt inevitably have ſuffered under leſs careful and dexterous hands than thoſe of the Chineſe. As it was intended they ſhould

ſhould be placed in one large room, the great hall in which the Emperor gives audience to his miniſters, the firſt operation was to move them all thither, and carefully to unpack them; and we had the ſatisfaction to find that not a ſingle article was either miſſing or injured.

We had not been long here, before a gentleman appeared who, notwithſtanding his Chineſe dreſs, I ſoon perceived to be an European. He introduced himſelf by ſaying, in the Latin language, that his name was Deodato a Neapolitan miſſionary, and that the court had appointed him to act as interpreter; hoped he might be uſeful to us, and offered his ſervices in the moſt handſome manner; and, I have great pleaſure in availing myſelf of this opportunity to acknowledge the friendly and unremitting attention I received from him during a reſidence of five weeks in this palace, and the very material aſſiſtance he afforded in explaining the nature, value, and uſe of the ſeveral pieces of machinery to thoſe Chineſe who were appointed to ſuperintend them. Signor Deodato was an excellent mechanic; and in this capacity was employed in the palace to inſpect and keep in order the numberleſs pieces of clock-work that had found their way thither, chiefly from London.

The officer appointed to attend us wore a light blue button in his cap, denoting the 4th degree of rank. When he ſhewed the apartments that were deſigned for us, I could not forbear obſerving to him, that they ſeemed fitter for hogs than for human creatures, and that rather than be obliged to occupy thoſe, or any

other like them, I ſhould for my own part prefer coming down from the capital every morning, and return in the evening. They conſiſted of three or four hovels in a ſmall court, ſurrounded with a wall as high as their roofs. Each room was about twelve feet ſquare, the walls completely naked, the ceiling broken in, the ruſhes or ſtems of *holcus*, that held the plaiſter, hanging down and ſtrewed on the floor; the lattice work of the windows partially covered with broken paper; the doors conſiſting of old bamboo ſkreens; the floor covered with duſt, and there was not the leaſt furniture in any of them, except an old table and two or three chairs in the one which was intended, I ſuppoſe, for the dining-room. The reſt had nothing in them whatſoever but a little raiſed platform of brick-work, which they told us was to ſleep on, and that they ſhould cover it with mats, and order proper bedding to be brought upon it. Yet theſe miſerable hovels were not only within the palace wall, but ſcarcely two hundred yards from the great hall of audience. The officer aſſured us that they were the apartments of one of their *Ta-gin* (great men) but that, as I did not ſeem to like them, we ſhould be accommodated with others. We were then carried a little farther, where there was a number of buildings upon a more extenſive ſcale encloſed alſo by high walls. The apartments were ſomewhat larger, but miſerably dirty both within and without, and wholly unfurniſhed; but as our attendant took care to tell us they belonged to one of the *miniſters of ſtate*, and that he lodged in them when the Emperor was at Yuen-min-yuen, we were precluded from further complaint. Had we refuſed thoſe that were conſidered ſufficient for a miniſter of ſtate, the man might have thought that nothing

leſs

leſs than the Emperor's own would have ſatisfied us. If the menial ſervants of his Britannic Majeſty's Miniſters were no better lodged than the miniſters themſelves of his Chineſe Majeſty, they would be apt to think themſelves very ill uſed. We accepted them, however, ſuch as they were, and cauſed them to be ſwept out, an operation which had not been performed for many months before; a table and chairs were brought in, with mats, pillows, and ſilken mattreſſes; but for theſe we had no occaſion, having fortunately brought with us from the ſhips our own cots.

To make amends for our uncomfortable lodgings, we ſat down to a moſt excellent dinner, wholly prepared in the Chineſe ſtyle, conſiſting of a vaſt variety of made diſhes very neatly dreſſed, and ſerved in porcelain bowls. The beſt ſoup I ever taſted in any part of the world was made here from an extract of beef, ſeaſoned with a preparation of ſoy and other ingredients. Their vermicelli is excellent, and all their paſtry is unuſually light and white as ſnow. We underſtood it to be made from the buck wheat. The luxury of ice, in the neighbourhood of the capital, is within the reach of the pooreſt peaſant; and, although they drink their tea and other beverage warm, they prefer all kinds of fruit when cooled on ice.

The three firſt days, while the articles were unpacking and aſſorting, we remained tolerably quiet, being annoyed only with the interference and inquiſitiveneſs of an old eunuch, who had in his train about a dozen of the ſame kind *ſimile aut ſecundum*. But no ſooner were they taken out of their caſes, and ſet up in

the room, than viſitors of all ranks, from princes of the blood to plain citizens, came daily to look at the preſents, but more particularly at us, whom I believe they conſidered by much the greateſt curioſities. All the men of letters and rank, who held employments in the ſtate, and whoſe attendance had been diſpenſed with at Gehol, flocked to *Yuen-min-yuen.*

Among the numerous viſitors came one day in great ſtate the preſident of a board in Pekin, on which the Jeſuits have conferred the pompous but unmerited title of the *Tribunal of Mathematics.* He was accompanied by a Portugueſe miſſionary of the name of *Govea*, who is the titular Biſhop of Pekin, Padré Antonio, and his ſecretary, both Portugueſe, and all three members of the ſaid tribunal. The particular object of their viſit was to make themſelves fully acquainted with the nature and uſe of the ſeveral preſents that related to ſcience, and eſpecially of the large planetarium, which had already made a great noiſe in China, in order that they might be able to give a proper deſcription and explanation to his Imperial Majeſty, both of this inſtrument, and of all the others connected with their department, and to anſwer any queſtion concerning them that might be aſked.

It created no ſort of ſurprize to any of us, on finding that the Chineſe who accompanied theſe reverend gentlemen were completely ignorant of the nature of a complicate machine, whoſe motions, regulated by the moſt ingenious mechaniſm that had ever been conſtructed in Europe, repreſented all thoſe even of the moſt irregular and eccentric of the heavenly bodies; nor

nor in perceiving that they ſeemed to be rather diſappointed in the appearance and operations of this inſtrument. It was obvious, from the few queſtions put by the preſident of this learned body, that he had conceived the planetarium to be ſomething ſimilar to one of thoſe curious pieces of muſical mechaniſm which, in the Canton jargon, are called *Sing-ſongs*, and that nothing more was neceſſary than to wind it up like a jack, when it would immediately ſpin round, and tell him every thing that he wanted to know.

But the difficulty of making the right reverend Biſhop and his colleagues comprehend the principles upon which it was conſtructed, and the ſeveral phenomena of the heavenly bodies exhibited by it, conveyed almoſt as bad an opinion of their aſtronomical and mathematical knowledge as of that of their preſident. The prelate, however, appeared to be a man of mild and placid temper, pleaſing manners, and of a modeſt and unaſſuming deportment. His ſecretary was a keen ſharp fellow, extremely inquiſitive, and reſolved not to loſe the little knowledge he might acquire, for he wrote down the anſwer to every queſtion that was propoſed.

The following day the Biſhop came unattended by the Chineſe part of their board, and gave us ſome account of the nature of their employ. The aſtronomical part of the national almanack, ſuch as calculating eclipſes, the times of new and full moon, the riſing and ſetting of the ſun, were, as he informed us, entruſted to him and his colleagues, but the aſtrological part was managed by a committee of the Chineſe members. He candidly avowed

avowed that neither he nor any of his European brethren were well qualified for the taſk, and that they had been hitherto more indebted to the *Connoiſſances de tems* of Paris than to their own calculations. That having exactly aſcertained the difference of meridians between Pekin and Paris, they had little difficulty in reducing the calculations made for the latter, ſo as to anſwer for the ſituation of the former, at leaſt to a degree of accuracy that was ſufficiently near the truth not to be detected by any of the Chineſe members.

The French revolution having put an end to future communications with that country was to them a ſevere blow in this reſpect, though the ſecretary thought he could now manage the calculation of an eclipſe ſufficiently correct to paſs current with the Chineſe. Fortunately, however, Doctor Dinwiddie had provided himſelf on leaving London with a ſet of the nautical almanacks, calculated for the meridian of Greenwich, up to the year 1800, which they conſidered as an invaluable preſent.

The grandſons of the Emperor were almoſt daily viſitors. It ſeems there is a kind of college in the palace for their education. Though young men from the ages of ſixteen to five-and-twenty, the old eunuch uſed frequently to puſh them by the ſhoulders out of the hall of audience; and, on expreſſing my ſurpriſe to Deodato at ſuch inſolence, he informed me that he was their *aya*, their governor!

We had alſo a great number of Tartar generals and military officers who had heard of ſword-blades that would cut iron bars

bars without injuring the edge; and ſo great was their aſtoniſhment on proving the fact, that they could ſcarcely credit the evidence of their own eyes. We could not confer a more acceptable preſent on a military officer than one of Gill's ſword-blades; and from the eager applications made for them, as we paſſed through the country, the introduction of them through Canton, in the regular courſe of trade, would, I ſhould ſuppoſe, be no difficult taſk.

But the two elegant carriages made by Hatchett puzzled the Chineſe more than any of the other preſents. Nothing of the kind had ever been ſeen at the capital; and the diſputes among themſelves as to the part which was intended for the ſeat of the Emperor were whimſical enough. The hammer-cloth that covered the box of the winter carriage had a ſmart edging, and was ornamented with feſtoons of roſes. Its ſplendid appearance and elevated ſituation determinated it at once, in the opinion of the majority, to be the Emperor's ſeat; but a difficulty aroſe how to appropriate the inſide of the carriage. They examined the windows, the blinds, and the ſkreens, and at laſt concluded, that it could be for nobody but his ladies. The old eunuch came to me for information, and when he learned that the fine elevated box was to be the ſeat of the man who managed the horſes, and that the Emperor's place was within, he aſked me, with a ſneer, if I ſuppoſed the *Ta-whang-tee* would ſuffer any man to ſit higher than himſelf, and to turn his back towards him? and he wiſhed to know if we could not contrive to have the coach-box removed and placed ſomewhere behind the body of the carriage.

A remarkable circumſtance, not eaſily to be accounted for, occurred in opening a caſk of Birmingham hardware. Every one knows the neceſſity of excluding the ſea-air as much as poſſible from highly poliſhed articles of iron and ſteel, and accordingly all ſuch articles intended to be ſent abroad are packed with the greateſt care. The caſks, or caſes, are made as tight as poſſible and covered with pitched canvas. Such was the caſk in queſtion. Yet, when the head was taken off, and a few of the packages removed, an enormous large ſcorpion was found in the midſt of the caſk, nearly in a torpid ſtate, but it quickly recovered on expoſure to the warm air.

" The thing we know is neither rich nor rare,
" But wonder how the devil it got there?"

Among the preſents carried into Tartary was a collection of prints, chiefly portraits of Engliſh nobility and diſtinguiſhed perſons; and to make the preſent more acceptable, they were bound up in three volumes in yellow Morocco. The Emperor was ſo pleaſed with this collection, that he ſent it expreſs to *Yuen-min-yuen* to have the name, rank, and office of each portrait tranſlated into the Mantchoo and Chineſe languages. The Tartar writer got on pretty well, but the Chineſe ſecretary was not a little puzzled with the B, the D, and the R, that ſo frequently recurred in the Engliſh names. The Duke of Marlborough was *Too-ke Ma-ul-po-loo*, and Bedford was transformed to *Pe-te-fo-ul-te*. But here a more ſerious difficulty occurred than that of writing the name. The rank was alſo to be written down, and on coming to the portrait of this nobleman, (which was a proof impreſſion of the print, engraved from a picture by

Sir

Sir Joſhua Reynolds, when the late Duke of Bedford was a youth,) I told the Chineſe to write him down a *Ta-gin*, or great man of the ſecond order. He inſtantly obſerved that I ſurely meant his father was a *Ta-gin*. I then explained to him that, according to our laws, the ſon ſucceeded to the rank of the father, and that with us it was by no means neceſſary, in order to obtain the firſt rank in the country, that a man ſhould be of a certain age, be poſſeſſed of ſuperior talents, or ſuitable qualifications. That theſe were ſometimes conducive to high honours, yet that a great part of the legiſlative body of the nation were entitled to their rank and ſituation by birth. They laughed heartily at the idea of a man being born a legiſlator, when it required ſo many years of cloſe application to enable one of their countrymen to paſs his examination for the very loweſt order of ſtate-officers. As, however, the deſcendants of Confucius continue to enjoy a ſort of nominal rank, and as their Emperor can alſo confer an hereditary dignity, without entitling to office, emolument, or excluſive privilege, they conſidered his Grace might be one of this deſcription, and wrote down his rank accordingly; but they poſitively refuſed to give him the title of *Ta-gin*, or great man, aſking me, if I thought their Emperor was ſo ſtupid as not to know the impoſſibility of a little boy having attained the rank of a *great man*.

About the 14th of September, or three days before the Emperor's birth-day, *Padre Anſelmo*, the procurator for the miſſion *de propaganda fide*, delivered me letters from Macao for the Embaſſador, which the Chineſe refuſed to ſend to Gehol, though daily expreſſes went to and from that place. *Anſelmo* hinted to

me that the late viceroy of Canton, who was no friend to the Engliſh, had arrived, and that he feared all was not right. That the Tartar legate had been degraded from his rank for deceiving the Emperor, and particularly for not paying his perſonal reſpects to the Embaſſador on board his ſhip when in *Tien-ſing* roads. That the peacock's feather, which he wore in his cap as a mark of his maſter's favour, was exchanged for a crow's tail, the ſign of great diſgrace, and that the conſideration of his age and his family had alone ſaved him from baniſhment. The Emperor, it ſeems, having heard that the Embaſſador had his picture in his cabin on board the Lion, aſked the legate whether it was like him, upon which it came out that he had never been near the Lion, as his orders directed him.

On the 17th, being the Emperor's birth-day, all the princes and officers about the palace aſſembled in their robes of ceremony, to make their obeiſance to the throne in the great hall of audience. On this occaſion were placed on the floor before the throne, on three ſmall tripods, a cup of tea, of oil, and of rice, perhaps as an acknowledgment of the Emperor being the proprietary of the ſoil, of which theſe are three material products. The old eunuch told me that I might remain in the hall during the ceremony, if I would conſent to perform it with them, and offered to inſtruct me in it. He ſaid that all the officers of government, in every part of the empire, made their proſtrations to the name of the Emperor inſcribed on yellow ſilk on that day.

Two

Two days after this, on going as uſual in the morning to the hall of audience, I found the doors ſhut and the old eunuch, who kept the keys, walking about in ſo ſullen a mood that I could not get from him a ſingle word. Different groupes of officers were aſſembled in the court-yard, all looking as if ſomething very dreadful either had occurred, or was about to happen. Nobody would ſpeak to me, nor could I get the leaſt explanation of this extraordinary conduct, till at length our friend Deodato appeared with a countenance no leſs woeful than thoſe of the officers of government, and the old eunuch. I aſked him what was the matter? His anſwer was, We are all loſt, ruined, and undone! He then informed me that intelligence had arrived from Gehol, ſtating, that Lord Macartney had refuſed to comply with the ceremony of proſtrating himſelf, like the Embaſſadors of tributary princes, nine times before the Emperor, unleſs one of equal rank with himſelf ſhould go through the ſame ceremony before the portrait of his Britannic Majeſty: that rather than do this they had accepted his offer to perform the ſame ceremony of reſpect to the Emperor as to his own ſovereign. That although little was thought of this affair at Gehol, the great officers of ſtate in the tribunal or department of ceremonies in Pekin were mortified, and perplexed, and alarmed; and that, in ſhort, it was impoſſible to ſay what might be the conſequence of an event unprecedented in the annals of the empire. That the Emperor, when he began to think more ſeriouſly on the ſubject, might poſſibly impeach thoſe before the criminal tribunal who had adviſed him to accede to ſuch a propoſal, on reflecting how much his dignity had ſuffered by the compliance; and that the records of the country might hand it down to poſ-

terity, as an event that had tarniſhed the luſtre of his reign, being nothing ſhort of breaking through an ancient cuſtom, and adopting one of a barbarous nation in its place. Deodato thought even that its ill effects might extend to them, as Europeans, and might injure the cauſe which was the firſt object of their miſſion.

I found it in vain to put into good humour that day either the officers of government, or the eunuchs, or even the miſſionaries; and our table was very materially affected by it, both in the number and the quality of diſhes;—a criterion from which, more than any other, a judgment may be formed of the ſtate of mind in which a Chineſe happens to be. Something of the ſame kind, it ſeems, occurred at Gehol. From the time the Embaſſador began to make conditions, his table was abridged, under an idea that he might be ſtarved into an unconditional compliance. Finding this experiment fail, they had recourſe to a different conduct, and became all kindneſs and complaiſance.

The ill-humour occaſioned by the news from Gehol gradually wore off, but I obſerved that the princes who had hitherto been daily viſitors now kept entirely away; and the old eunuch, when put out of his way, uſed to apply to us the epithet of proud, headſtrong Engliſhmen.

On the 26th the Embaſſador (during whoſe ſtay at Gehol in Tartary an account of all that paſſed there is given in Sir George Staunton's book) returned to Pekin, when the remainder

mainder of the preſents were ſent to Yuen-min-yuen. A number of Tartar princes and great officers of ſtate came to look at thoſe fitted up in the hall of audience, and ſeemed extremely ſolicitous that the whole ſhould be got ready without delay. Notice was alſo given that, on the 30th the Emperor would inſpect the preſents. This was the day fixed for his return, and it was notified to the Embaſſador that it was an uſual compliment for all public officers to meet him on the road, at the diſtance of ten or twelve miles from the capital. Accordingly, about four o'clock in the morning of the 30th, we were all mounted and arrived at our ground about ſix. The whole road had been newly made, rolled as level as a bowling-green, watered to keep down the duſt and, on each ſide, at the diſtance of about fifty yards from each other, were ſmall triangular poles erected, from which were ſuſpended painted lanterns.

They brought us into a kind of guard-houſe, where tea and other refreſhments were prepared, after which we took our ſtation on a high bank on the left of the road. On each ſide, as far as the eye could reach, were ſeveral thouſands of the great officers of ſtate in their habits of ceremony; Tartar troops in their holiday dreſſes; ſtandard-bearers without number, military muſic, and officers of the houſehold, lining the two ſides of the road. The approach of the Emperor was announced by a blaſt of the trumpet, followed by ſofter muſic, " and at that " time when all the people heard the ſound of the cornet, flutes, " harp, ſackbut, pſaltery, and all kinds of muſic, then the " princes, the governors, and captains, the judges, the trea- " ſurers, the counſellors, the ſheriffs, and all the rulers of the " provinces,

"provinces, that were gathered together, fell down and wor-"ſhipped," except certain ſtrangers, who, being obſtinately reſolved to do no greater homage to any ſovereign than what is required by their own ſovereign, bent one knee only to the ground.

The Emperor was carried by eight men in a kind of ſedan chair, which was followed by a clumſey ſtate chariot upon two wheels, and without ſprings. He bowed very graciouſly to the Embaſſador as he paſſed, and ſent a meſſage to him to ſay that, underſtanding he was not well, he adviſed him to return immediately to Pekin, and not to ſtop at Yuen-min-yuen, as was intended.

The morning being very cold, we were deſirous to get home as faſt as we could; and accordingly galloped along with ſome of the Tartar cavalry. When we arrived under the walls of Pekin, we turned our horſes towards a different gate to that through which we were accuſtomed to paſs, in order to ſee a little more of the city. But one of our conductors, who had thought it his duty not to loſe ſight of us, in perceiving us making a wrong turn, hallowed out with all his might. We puſhed forward, however, and got through the gate, but we were purſued with ſuch a hue and cry, that we were glad to eſcape through one of the croſs ſtreets leading to our hotel, where we arrived with at leaſt a hundred ſoldiers at our heels.

On

On the 1ſt of October the Emperor, attended by a Tartar, inſpected the preſents in the hall of audience and examined them with minute attention. He deſired the Tartar prince to tell us, through Deodato, that the accounts he had received of our good conduct at *Yuen-min-yuen* gave him great pleaſure, and that he had ordered a preſent to be made to each of us, as a proof of his entire ſatisfaction. This preſent was brought, after his departure from the hall, by the old eunuch, who took care to tell us that before we received it we muſt make nine proſtrations according to the Chineſe cuſtom. I made him no anſwer, but requeſted Deodato to explain to the Tartar prince, who was ſtill preſent, that being under the orders of the Embaſſador we did not think ourſelves authorized to do what he had found good to refuſe, but that we had not the leaſt objection to go through the ſame ceremony that he had done at Gehol. The Tartar prince immediately anſwered that nothing further was required. We accordingly placed one knee on the loweſt ſtep leading to the throne. The preſent conſiſted of rolls of ſilk and ſeveral pieces of ſilver caſt in the form of a Tartar ſhoe, without any mark or inſcription on them, and each about the weight of an ounce.

The preſents being now all delivered, and the Embaſſador informed by the miſſionaries that preparations were making for our departure, the uſual time being nearly expired, his Excellency was deſirous of having the day fixed, and for this purpoſe diſpatched a note to the firſt miniſter, who ſent an anſwer by the Tartar legate to inform him that, to prevent any likelihood of being ſurprized by the approaching bad weather,

the Emperor had named the 7th inſtant for the beginning of our journey; and had given orders that every honour and diſtinction ſhould be paid to the Embaſſy on the road.

But before I quit theſe renowned gardens of Yuen-min-yuen, it will naturally be expected I ſhould ſay ſomething on their ſubject. From all that I had heard and read of the grandeur and beauty of the ſcenery and the magnificence of palaces, I had certainly expected to meet with a ſtyle of gardening and laying out of grounds ſuperior, or at leaſt equal, to any thing in the ſame line in Europe; and, perhaps indeed, I might have been fully gratified in all my expectations provided no reſtraint had been thrown upon our walks, which was far from being the caſe. All the little excurſions I made were by ſtealth. Even in the ſhort diſtance between the hall of audience and our lodgings, which might be about three hundred paces, we were continually watched. The idea of being ſtopped by an eunuch or ſome of the inferior officers belonging to the court, was ſufficient to put us on our guard againſt meeting with any ſuch mortification; pride, in ſuch circumſtances, generally gets the better of the deſire, however ſtrong, of gratifying curioſity. I ſometimes, however, ventured to ſtroll from our lodging in the evening in order to take a ſtolen glance at theſe celebrated gardens.

The grounds of *Yuen-min-yuen* are calculated to comprehend an extent of at leaſt ten Engliſh miles in diameter, or about ſixty thouſand acres, a great part of which, however, is waſtes and woodland. The general appearance of thoſe parts near where we lodged, as to the natural ſurface of the country, bro-

ken

ken into hill and dale, and diverſified with wood and lawn, may be compared with Richmond park, to which, however, they add the very great advantage of abundance of canals, rivers, and large ſheets of water, whoſe banks, although artificial, are neither trimmed, nor ſhorn, nor ſloped, like the glacis of a fortification, but have been thrown up with immenſe labour in an irregular, and, as it were, fortuitous manner, ſo as to repreſent the free hand of nature. Bold rocky promontories are ſeen jutting into a lake, and vallies retiring, ſome choaked with wood, others in a ſtate of high cultivation. In particular ſpots where pleaſure-houſes, or places of reſt or retirement, were erected, the views appeared to have been ſtudied. The trees were not only placed according to their magnitudes, but the tints of their foliage ſeemed alſo to have been conſidered in the compoſition of the picture, which ſome of the landſcapes might be called with great propriety. But, if an opinion may be formed from thoſe parts of them which I have ſeen, and I underſtood there is a great ſimilarity throughout the whole, they fall very ſhort of the fanciful and extravagant deſcriptions that Sir William Chambers has given of Chineſe gardening. Much, however, has been done, and nothing that I ſaw could be conſidered as an offence to nature.

Thirty diſtinct places of reſidence for the Emperor, with all the neceſſary appendages of building to each, for lodging the ſeveral officers of ſtate, who are required to be preſent on court days and particular occaſions, for the eunuchs, ſervants, and artificers, each compoſing a village of no inconſiderable magnitude, are ſaid to be contained within the incloſure of theſe gar-

dens. Theſe aſſemblages of buildings, which they dignify with the name of palaces, are, however, of ſuch a nature as to be more remarkable for their number than for their ſplendour or magnificence. A great proportion of the buildings conſiſts in mean cottages. The very dwelling of the Emperor and the grand hall in which he gives audience, when diveſted of the gilding and the gaudy colours with which they are daubed, are little ſuperior, and much leſs ſolid, than the barns of a ſubſtantial Engliſh farmer. Their apartments are as deficient in proportion, as their conſtruction is void of every rule and principle which we are apt to conſider as eſſential to architecture. The principal hall of audience at Yuen-min-yuen ſtood upon a platform of granite, raiſed about four feet above the level of the court. A row of large wooden columns ſurrounding the building ſupported the projecting roof; and a ſecond row within the firſt, and correſponding with it (the interſtices between the columns being filled up with brick-work to the height of about four feet) ſerved for the walls of the room. The upper part of theſe walls was a kind of lattice-work, covered over with large ſheets of oiled paper, and was capable of being thrown entirely open on public occaſions. The wooden columns had no capitals, and the only architrave was the horizontal beam that ſupported the rafters of the roof. This, in direct contradiction to the eſtabliſhed mode in European architecture, was the uppermoſt member of what might be called the entablature or frize, which was a broad ſkreen of wood, faſtened between the upper part of the columns, painted with the moſt vivid colours of blue, red, and green, and interlarded with gilding; and the whole had net-work of wire ſtretched

over

over it, to prevent its being defiled by ſwallows, and other birds frequenting human dwellings. The length of this room within was one hundred and ten feet, breadth forty-two, and height twenty feet: the ceiling painted with circles, ſquares, and polygons, whimſically diſpoſed, and loaded with a great variety of colours. The floor was paved with grey marble flag ſtones laid chequer-wiſe. The throne, placed in a receſs, was ſupported by rows of pillars painted red like thoſe without. It conſiſted entirely of wood, not unlike mahogany, the carving of which was exquiſitely fine. The only furniture was a pair of braſs kettle drums, two large paintings, two pair of ancient blue porcelain vaſes, a few volumes of manuſcripts, and a table at one end of the room on which was placed an old Engliſh chiming clock, made in the ſeventeenth century by one Clarke of Leadenhall-ſtreet, and which our old friend the eunuch had the impudence to tell us was the workmanſhip of a Chineſe. A pair of circular fans made of the wing feathers of the Argus pheaſant, and mounted on long poliſhed ebony poles ſtood, one on each ſide of the throne, over which was written in four characters, "true, great, refulgent, ſplendor;" and under theſe, in a lozenge, the character of *Happineſs*. In the different courts were ſeveral miſerable attempts at ſculpture, and ſome bronze figures, but all the objects were fanciful, diſtorted, and entirely out of nature. The only ſpecimen of workmanſhip about the palace, that would bear a cloſe examination, beſides the carving of the throne, was a brick wall encloſing the flower garden, which, perhaps, in no reſpect is exceeded by any thing of the ſort in England.

With

With regard to the architecture and gardening of the Chineſe, it may be expected that I ſhould give a more detailed deſcription, or offer ſome opinion on thoſe ſubjects. The little I have to ſay on the former will be reſerved for another place; and, with reſpect to the latter, I regret that I had not an opportunity of ſeeing ſo much as I could have wiſhed, and particularly the Emperor's great park at Gehol, which, from the deſcription of the Embaſſador, ſeemed to be almoſt unrivalled for its features of beauty, ſublimity, and amenity. But my own deficiency will be amply filled up with an extract or two from the Journal of his Lordſhip, whoſe taſte and ſkill in landſcape gardening are ſo well known. I have indeed much to regret that I could not enrich the preſent work with more extracts from it, but as it makes a complete picture of itſelf the partial ſelection of detached parts might have been injurious to it, by conveying wrong impreſſions, when unconnected with the reſt. I am, therefore, the more obliged (and gladly embrace this opportunity of expreſſing the obligations I feel) to his Lordſhip, for what little he has allowed me to tranſcribe.

Speaking of the route from Pekin to Gehol in Tartary, Lord Macartney obſerves: "Our journey, upon the whole, has been "very pleaſant and, being divided into ſeven days, not at all "fatiguing. At the end of every ſtage we have been lodged "and entertained in the wings or houſes adjoining to the Em-"peror's palaces. Theſe palaces, which occur at ſhort diſ-"tances from each other on the road, have been built for his "reception, on his annual viſit to Tartary. They are con-"ſtructed upon nearly the ſame plan and in the ſame taſte.

"They

" They front the ſouth, and are uſually ſituated on irregular " ground near the baſis of gentle hills which, together with " ther adjoining vallies, are encloſed by high walls and laid " out in parks and pleaſure grounds, with every poſſible atten- " tion to pictureſque beauty. Whenever water can be brought " into the view it is not neglected; the diſtant hills are planted, " cultivated, or left naked, according to their accompaniments " in the proſpect. The wall is often concealed in a ſunk fence, " in order to give an idea of greater extent. A Chineſe gar- " dener is the painter of nature, and though totally ignorant of " perſpective, as a ſcience, produces the happieſt effects by the " management, or rather pencilling, of diſtances, if I may uſe " the expreſſion, by relieving or keeping down the features " of the ſcene, by contraſting trees of a bright with thoſe of a " duſky foliage, by bringing them forward, or throwing them " back, according to their bulk and their figure, and by intro- " ducing buildings of different dimenſions, either heightened by " ſtrong colouring, or ſoftened by ſimplicity and omiſſion of " ornament.

" The Emperor having been informed that, in the courſe of " our travels in China we had ſhewn a ſtrong deſire of ſeeing " every thing curious and intereſting, was pleaſed to give di- " rections to the firſt miniſter to ſhew us his park or garden at " Gehol. It is called in Chineſe *Van-ſhoo-yuen*, or Paradiſe of " ten thouſand (or innumerable) trees. In order to have this " gratification (which is conſidered as an inſtance of uncom- " mon favour) we roſe this morning at three o'clock and went " to the palace where we waited, mixed with all the great of-

" ficers

" ficers of ſtate, for three hours (ſuch is the etiquette of the " place) till the Emperor's appearance. At laſt he came forth, " borne in the uſual manner by ſixteen perſons on a high open " palankeen, attended by guards, muſic, ſtandards, and um- " brellas without number; and obſerving us, as we ſtood in " the front line, graciouſly beckoned us to approach, having " ordered his people to ſtop; he entered into converſation " with us; and, with great affability of manner, told us that " he was on his way to the pagoda, where he uſually paid his " morning devotions; that as we profeſſed a different religion " from his he would not aſk us to accompany him, but that " he had ordered his firſt miniſter and chief Colaos to conduct " us through his garden, and to ſhew us whatever we were de- " ſirous of ſeeing there.

" Having expreſſed my ſenſe of this mark of his condeſcen- " ſion in the proper manner, and my increaſing admiration of " every thing I had yet obſerved at Gehol, I retired and, " whilſt he proceeded to his adorations at the pagoda, I accom- " panied the miniſters and other great Colaos of the court to " a pavilion prepared for us, from whence, after a ſhort colla- " tion, we ſet out on horſeback to view this wonderful garden. " We rode about three miles through a very beautiful park kept " in the higheſt order and much reſembling the approach to " Luton in Bedfordſhire; the grounds gently undulated and " chequered with various groupes of well contraſted trees in " the offskip. As we moved onward an extenſive lake ap- " peared before us, the extremities of which ſeemed to loſe " themſelves in diſtance and obſcurity. Here was a large and

" magnificent yacht ready to receive us, and a number of " ſmaller ones for the attendants, elegantly fitted up and " adorned with numberleſs vanes, pendants, and ſtreamers. " The ſhores of the lake have all the varieties of ſhape, which " the fancy of a painter can delineate, and are ſo indented with " bays, or broken with projections, that almoſt every ſtroke of " the oar brought a new and unexpected object to our view. " Nor are iſlands wanting, but they are ſituated only where " they ſhould be, each in its proper place and having its " proper character: one marked by a pagoda, or other " building; one quite deſtitute of ornament; ſome ſmooth " and level; ſome ſteep and uneven; and others frowning " with wood, or ſmiling with culture. Where any things " particularly intereſting were to be ſeen we diſembarked, from " time to time, to viſit them, and I dare ſay that, in the " courſe of our voyage, we ſtopped at forty or fifty diffe- " rent palaces or pavilions. Theſe are all furniſhed in the " richeſt manner with pictures of the Emperor's huntings " and progreſſes, with ſtupendous vaſes of jaſper and agate; " with the fineſt porcelain and Japan, and with every kind " of European toys and *ſing-ſongs;* with ſpheres, orreries, " clocks, and muſical automatons of ſuch exquiſite work- " manſhip, and in ſuch profuſion, that *our* preſents muſt " ſhrink from the compariſon, and *hide their diminiſhed heads;* " and yet I am told, that the fine things we have ſeen are far " exceeded by others of the ſame kind in the apartments of the " ladies, and in the European repoſitory at *Yuen-min-yuen.* In " every one of the pavilions was a throne, or imperial ſtate, " and a *Eu-jou*, or ſymbol of peace and proſperity, placed at

" one ſide of it reſembling that which the Emperor delivered
" to me yeſterday for the king.

" It would be an endleſs taſk were I to attempt a detail of
" all the wonders of this charming place. There is no
" beauty of diſtribution, no feature of amenity, no
" reach of fancy which embelliſhes our pleaſure grounds in
" England, that is not to be found here. Had China been
" acceſſible to Mr. Browne or Mr. Hamilton, I ſhould have
" ſworn they had drawn their happieſt ideas from the rich
" ſources, which I have taſted this day; for in the courſe of a
" few hours I have enjoyed ſuch viciſſitudes of rural de-
" light, as I did not conceive could be felt out of England, being
" at different moments enchanted by ſcenes perfectly ſimilar to
" thoſe I had known there, to the magnificence of Stowe, the
" ſofter beauties of Wooburn, and the fairy-land of Paine's
" Hill.

" One thing I was particularly ſtruck with, I mean the happy
" choice of ſituation for ornamental buildings. From attention
" to this circumſtance they have not the air of being crowded
" or diſproportioned; they never intrude upon the eye; but
" wherever they appear always ſhew themſelves to advantage, and
" aid, improve, and enliven the proſpect.

" In many places the lake is overſpread with the Nenuphar
" or lotus (nelumbium) reſembling our broad leaved water lilly.
" This is an accompaniment which, though the Chineſe are
" paſſionately fond of, cultivating it in all their pieces of water,

" I confeſs I don't much admire. Artificial rocks and ponds " with gold and ſilver fiſh are perhaps too often introduced, " and the monſtrous porcelain figures of lions and tygers, " uſually placed before the pavilions, are diſpleaſing to an Eu- " ropean eye; but theſe are trifles of no great moment; and " I am aſtoniſhed that now, after a ſix hours critical ſurvey of " theſe gardens, I can ſcarcely recollect any thing beſides to find " fault with.

" At our taking leave of the miniſter, he told us that we had " only ſeen the eaſtern ſide of the gardens, but that the weſt- " ern ſide, which was the larger part ſtill remained for him to " ſhew us, and that he ſhould have that pleaſure another " day.

" Accordingly, on the day of the Emperor's anniverſary feſ- " tival, after the ceremony was ended, the firſt or great Colao " *Ho-chun-tong*, the *Foo-leou*, the *Foo-leou*'s brother *Foo-chan-tong*, " and *Song-ta-gin*, with the other great men who attended us " two days ſince, in our viſit to the eaſtern garden, now pro- " poſed to accompany us to the weſtern, which forms a ſtrong " contraſt with the other, and exhibits all the ſublimer beauties " of nature in as high a degree as the part which we ſaw before " poſſeſſes the attractions of ſoftneſs and amenity. It is one " of the fineſt foreſt-ſcenes in the world; wild, woody, mount- " ainous and rocky, abounding with ſtags and deer of different " ſpecies, and moſt of the other beaſts of the chace, not dan- " gerous to man.

" In many places immenſe woods, chiefly oaks, pines, and " cheſnuts, grow upon almoſt perpendicular ſteeps, and force " their ſturdy roots through every reſiſtance of ſurface and of " ſoil, where vegetation would ſeem almoſt impoſſible. Theſe " woods often clamber over the loftieſt pinnacles of the ſtony " hills, or gathering on the ſkirts of them, deſcend with a rapid " ſweep, and bury themſelves in the deepeſt vallies. There, at " proper diſtances, you find palaces, banquetting houſes, and " monaſteries, (but without bonzes) adapted to the ſituation " and peculiar circumſtances of the place, ſometimes with a " rivulet on one hand, gently ſtealing through the glade, at " other with a cataract tumbling from above, raging with " foam, and rebounding with a thouſand echoes from below, " or ſilently engulphed in a gloomy pool, or yawning " chaſm.

" The roads by which we approached theſe romantic ſcenes " are often hewn out of the living rock, and conducted round " the hills in a kind of rugged ſtair-caſe, and yet no ac- " cident occurred in our progreſs, not a falſe ſtep diſturbed " the regularity of our cavalcade, though the horſes are ſpirited " and all of them unſhod. From the great irregularity of " the ground, and the various heights to which we aſcended, " we had opportunities of catching many magnificent points of " view by detached glances, but after wandering for ſeveral " hours (and yet never wearied with wandering) we at laſt " reached a covered pavilion open on all ſides, and ſituated on " a ſummit ſo elevated as perfectly to command the whole " ſurrounding country to a vaſt extent. The radius of the ho-

" rizon,

rizon I ſhould ſuppoſe to be at leaſt twenty miles from the " central ſpot where we ſtood; and certainly ſo rich, ſo " various, ſo beautiful, ſo ſublime a proſpect my eyes had " never beheld. I ſaw every thing before me as on an illumin- " ated map, palaces, pagodas, towns, villages, farm-houſes, " plains, and vallies, watered by innumerable ſtreams, hills " waving with woods, and meadows covered with cattle of the " moſt beautiful marks and colours. All ſeemed to be nearly at " my feet, and that a ſtep would convey me within reach of them.

" I obſerved here a vaſt number of what we call in England " *ſheet* cows, alſo ſheet horſes, many pyeballs, dappled, mottled, " and ſpotted, the latter chiefly ſtrawberry.

" From hence was pointed out to us by the miniſter a vaſt " encloſure below, which, he ſaid, was not more acceſſible to " him than to us, being never entered but by the Emperor, his " women, or his Eunuchs. It includes within its bounds, " though on a ſmaller ſcale, moſt of the beauties which diſ- " tinguiſh the eaſtern and the weſtern gardens which we have " already ſeen; but from every thing I can learn it falls very " ſhort of the fanciful deſcriptions which father Attiret and " Sir William Chambers have intruded upon us as realities. " That within theſe private retreats, various entertainments " of the moſt novel and expenſive nature are prepared " and exhibited by the Eunuchs, who are very numerous " (perhaps ſome thouſands) to amuſe the Emperor and his " ladies, I have no doubt; but that they are carried to all " the lengths of extravagance and improbability thoſe gentle-

" men

" men have mentioned, I very much queſtion, as from every " enquiry I have made (and I have not been ſparing to make " them) I have by no means ſufficient reaſon to warrant me in " acceding to, or confirming, the accounts which they have " given us.

" If any place in England can be ſaid in any reſpect to have " ſimilar features to the weſtern park, which I have ſeen this " day, it is Lowther Hall in Weſtmoreland, which (when I " knew it many years ago) from the extent of proſpect, the " grand ſurrounding objects, the noble ſituation, the diverſity " of ſurface, the extenſive woods, and command of water, I " thought might be rendered by a man of ſenſe, ſpirit, and " taſte, the fineſt ſcene in the Britiſh dominions."

After this deſcriptive and intereſting detail of the beauties of the two ſides of the imperial park or gardens at Gehol, his Lordſhip makes a few general obſervations on Chineſe gardening, and the ornamental edifices that are uſually employed to aid the effect, as well as contribute to uſe and convenience. He obſerves,

" Whether our ſtyle of gardening was really copied from the " Chineſe, or originated with ourſelves, I leave for vanity to " aſſert, and idleneſs to diſcuſs. A diſcovery which is the re- " ſult of good ſenſe and reflexion may equally occur to the " moſt diſtant nations, without either borrowing from the other. " There is certainly a great analogy between our gardening

" and

" and the Chineſe, but our excellence ſeems to be rather in im-
" proving nature, theirs to conquer her, and yet produce the
" ſame effect. It is indifferent to a Chineſe where he makes
" his garden, whether on a ſpot favoured, or abandoned, by
" the rural deities. If the latter, he invites them, or compels
" them to return. His point is to change every thing from
" what he found it, to explode the old faſhion of the creation,
" and introduce novelty in every corner. If there be a waſte,
" he adorns it with trees; if a dry deſert, he waters it with a
" river, or floats it with a lake. If there be a ſmooth flat, he varies
" it with all poſſible converſions. He undulates the ſurface,
" he raiſes it in hills, ſcoops it into vallies, and roughens it
" with rocks. He ſoftens aſperities, brings amenity into the
" wilderneſs, or animates the tameneſs of an expanſe, by ac-
" companying it with the majeſty of a foreſt. Deceptions and
" eye-traps the Chineſe are not unacquainted with, but they
" uſe them very ſparingly. I obſerved no artificial ruins,
" caves, or hermitages. Though the ſublime predominates in
" its proper ſtation, you are inſenſibly led to contemplate it,
" not ſtartled by its ſudden intruſion, for in the plan cheer-
" fulneſs is the principal feature, and lights up the face of the
" ſcene. To enliven it ſtill more, the aid of architecture is
" invited; all the buildings are perfect of their kind, either
" elegantly ſimple, or highly decorated, according to the
" effect that is intended to ariſe, erected at ſuitable diſtances,
" and judiciouſly contraſted, never crowded together in confu-
" ſion, nor affectedly confronted, and ſtaring at each other
" without meaning. Proper edifices in proper places. The
" ſummer-

" ſummer-houſe, the pavilion, the pagodas, have all their re-
" ſpective ſituations, which *they* diſtinguiſh and improve, but
" which any other ſtructures would injure or deform. The
" only things diſagreeable to my eye are the large porcelain
" figures of lions, tygers, &c. and the rough hewn ſteps, and
" huge maſſes of rock work, which they ſeem ſtudious of in-
" troducing near many of their houſes and palaces. Conſider-
" ing their general good taſte in the other points, I was much
" ſurpriſed at this, and could only account for it, by the ex-
" pence and the difficulty of bringing together ſuch incongrui-
" ties, for it is a common effect of enormous riches to puſh
" every thing they can procure to bombaſt and extravagance,
" which are the death of taſte. In other countries, however,
" as well as in China, I have ſeen ſome of the moſt boaſted feats,
" either outgrowing their beauty from a plethora of their
" owner's wealth, or becoming capricious and hypocondriacal
" by a quackiſh application of it. A few fine places, even in
" England, might be pointed out that are labouring under theſe
" diſorders; not to mention ſome celebrated houſes where
" twiſted ſtair-caſes, window-glaſs cupolas, and embroidered
" chimney-pieces, convey nothing to us but the whims and
" dreams of ſickly fancy, without an atom of grandeur, taſte,
" or propriety.

" The architecture of the Chineſe is of a peculiar ſtyle, to-
" tally unlike any other, irreducible to our rules, but perfectly
" conſiſtent with its own. It has certain principles, from
" which it never deviates, and although, when examined ac-
" cording

" cording to ours, it ſins againſt the ideas we have imbibed " of diſtribution, compoſition, and proportion; yet, upon " the whole, it often produces a moſt pleaſing effect, as " we ſometimes ſee a perſon without a ſingle good feature " in his face have, nevertheleſs, a very agreeable coun- " tenance."

CHAP. IV.

Sketch of the State of Society in China.—Manners, Cuſtoms, Sentiments, and Moral Character of the People.

Condition of Women, a Criterion of the State of Society.—Degraded State of in China.—Domeſtic Manners unfavourable to Filial Affection.—Parental Authority.—Ill Effects of ſeparating the Sexes.—Social Intercourſe unknown, except for gaming.—Their Worſhip ſolitary.—Feaſts of New Year.—Propenſity to gaming.—Influence of the Laws ſeems to have deſtroyed the natural Character of the People.—Made them indifferent, or cruel.—Various Inſtances of this Remark in public and in private Life.—Remarks on Infanticide.—Perhaps leſs general than uſually thought.—Character of Chineſe in Foreign Countries.—Temper and Diſpoſition of the Chineſe.—Merchants.—Cuckoo-Clocks.—Conduct of a Prince of the Blood.—Of the Prime Miniſter.—Compariſon of the Phyſical and Moral Characters of the Chineſe and Man-tchoo *Tartars.—General Character of the Nation illuſtrated.*

IT may, perhaps, be laid down as an invariable maxim, that the condition of the female part of ſociety in any nation will furniſh a tolerable juſt criterion of the degree of civilization to which that nation has arrived. The manners, habits, and prevailing ſentiments of women, have great influence on thoſe of the ſociety to which they belong, and generally give a turn to its character. Thus we ſhall find that thoſe nations, where the moral and intellectual powers of the mind in the female ſex are held in moſt eſtimation, will be governed by ſuch laws as are

beſt calculated to promote the general happineſs of the people; and, on the contrary, where the perſonal qualifications of the ſex are the only objects of conſideration, as is the caſe in all the deſpotic governments of Aſiatic nations, tyranny, oppreſſion, and ſlavery are ſure to prevail; and theſe perſonal accompliſhments, ſo far from being of uſe to the owner, ſerve only to deprive her of liberty, and the ſociety of her friends; to render her a degraded victim, ſubſervient to the ſenſual gratification, the caprice, and the jealouſy of tyrant man. Among ſavage tribes the labour and drudgery invariably fall heavieſt on the weaker ſex.

The talents of women, in our own happy iſland, began only in the reign of Queen Elizabeth to be held in a proper degree of conſideration. As women, they were admired and courted, but they ſcarcely could be ſaid to participate in the ſociety of men. In fact, the manners of our forefathers, before that reign, were too rough for them. In Wales, wives were ſold to their huſbands. In Scotland, women could not appear as evidences in a court of juſtice. In the time of Henry the Eighth, an act was paſſed prohibiting women and apprentices from reading the New Teſtament in the Engliſh language. Among the poliſhed Greeks, they were held in little eſtimation. Homer degrades all his females: he makes the Grecian princeſſes weave the web, ſpin, and do all the drudgery of a modern waſherwoman; and rarely allows them any ſhare of ſocial intercourſe with the other ſex. Yet the very foundations on which he has conſtructed his two matchleſs poems are women. It appears alſo from all the dramatic writers of ancient Greece, whoſe aim

was " to hold as 'twere the mirror up to nature, to ſhew the " very age and body of the time its form and preſſure," that notwithſtanding their extreme delicacy of taſte, and rapid progreſs in the fine arts, their manners were low and coarſe, and that they were entire ſtrangers to any other gratification ariſing from the ſociety of women, than the indulgence of the ſenſual appetite. Even the grave Herodotus mentions, in the higheſt terms of approbation, the cuſtom of Babylon of ſelling by auction, on a certain fixed day, all the young women who had any pretenſions to beauty, in order to raiſe a ſum of money for portioning off the reſt of the females, to whom nature had been leſs liberal in beſtowing her gifts, and who were knocked down to thoſe who were ſatisfied to take them with the leaſt money. This degradation of women would ſeem to be as impolitic as it is extraordinary ſince, under their guidance, the earlieſt, and ſometimes the moſt indelible (I believe I may ſafely add, the beſt and moſt amiable) impreſſions are ſtamped on the youthful mind. In infancy their protection is indiſpenſably neceſſary, and in ſickneſs, or in old age, they unqueſtionably afford the beſt and kindeſt relief: or, as a French author has neatly obſerved, " *Sans les femmes, les deux extremites de la vie ſeraient ſans ſecours,* " *et le milieu ſans plaiſirs.*" " Without woman the two extre- " mities of life would be helpleſs, and the middle of it joyleſs."

The Chineſe, if poſſible, have impoſed on their women a greater degree of humility and reſtraint than the Greeks of old, or the Europeans in the dark ages. Not ſatisfied with the phyſical deprivation of the uſe of their limbs, they have contrived, in order to keep them the more confined, to make it a moral crime

crime for a woman to be ſeen abroad. If they ſhould have occaſion to viſit a friend or relation, they muſt be carried in a cloſe ſedan chair: to walk would be the height of vulgarity. Even the country ladies, who may not poſſeſs the luxury of a chair, rather than walk, ſuffer themſelves to be ſometimes rolled about in a ſort of covered wheelbarrow. The wives and daughters, however, of the lower claſs are neither confined to the houſe, nor exempt from hard and ſlaviſh labour, many being obliged to work with an infant upon the back, while the huſband, in all probability, is gaming, or otherwiſe idling away his time. I have frequently ſeen women aſſiſting to drag a ſort of light plough, and the harrow. Nieuwhoff, in one of his prints, taken from drawings ſuppoſed to be made in China, yokes, if I miſtake not, a woman to the ſame plough with an aſs. Should this be the fact, the Chineſe are not ſingular, if we may credit the Natural Hiſtorian of Antiquity *, who obſerves that, to open the fertile fields of *Byzacium* in Africa, it was neceſſary to wait until the rains had ſoaked into the ground; "after which a "little weakly aſs, and an old woman, attached to the ſame "yoke, were ſufficient to drag the plough through the ſoil," *poſt imbres vili aſello, et a parte altera jugi anu vomerem trahente vidimus ſcindi.*

In the province of *Kiang-ſee* nothing is more common than to ſee a woman drawing a kind of light plough, with a ſingle handle, through ground that has previouſly been prepared. The eaſier taſk of directing the machine is left to the huſband,

* Plin. lib. xvi. cap. 21.

who,

who, holding the plough with one hand, at the ſame time whit the other caſts the ſeed into the drills.

The advantages which thoſe women poſſeſs in a higher ſphere of life, if any, are not much to be envied. Even at home, in her own family, a woman muſt neither eat at the ſame table, nor ſit in the ſame room with her huſband. And the male children, at the age of nine or ten, are entirely ſeparated from their ſiſters. Thus the feelings of affection, not the inſtinctive products of nature, but the offspring of frequent intercourſe and of a mutual communication of their little wants and pleaſures, are nipped in the very bud of dawning ſentiment. A cold and ceremonious conduct muſt be obſerved on all occaſions between the members of the ſame family. There is no common focus to attract and concentrate the love and reſpect of children for their parents. Each lives retired and apart from the other. The little incidents and adventures of the day, which furniſh the converſation among children of many a long winter's evening, by a comfortable fire-ſide, in our own country, are in China buried in ſilence. Boys, it is true, ſometimes mix together in ſchools, but the ſtiff and ceremonious behaviour, which conſtitutes no inconſiderable part of their education, throws a reſtraint on all the little playful actions incident to their time of life and completely ſubdues all ſpirit of activity and enterprize. A Chineſe youth of the higher claſs is inanimate, formal, and inactive, conſtantly endeavouring to aſſume the gravity of years.

To

To beguile the many tedious and heavy hours, that muſt unavoidably occur to the ſecluded females totally unqualified for mental purſuits, the tobacco-pipe is the uſual expedient. Every female from the age of eight or nine years wears, as an appendage to her dreſs, a ſmall ſilken purſe or pocket to hold tobacco and a pipe, with the uſe of which many of them are not unacquainted at this tender age. Some indeed are conſtantly employed in working embroidery on ſilks, or in painting birds, inſects, and flowers on thin gauze. In the ladies' apartments of the great houſe in which we lived at Pekin, we obſerved ſome very beautiful ſpecimens of both kinds in the pannels of the partitions, and I brought home a few articles which I underſtand have been much admired; but the women who employ their time in this manner are generally the wives and daughters of tradeſmen and artificers, who are uſually the weavers both of cottons and ſilks. I remember aſking one of the great officers of the court, who wore a ſilken veſt beautifully embroidered, if it was the work of his lady, but the ſuppoſition that his wife ſhould condeſcend to uſe her needle ſeemed to give him offence.

Their manners in domeſtic life are little calculated to produce that extraordinary degree of filial piety, or affection and reverence towards parents, for which they have been eminently celebrated, and to the ſalutary effects of which the Jeſuits have attributed the ſtability of the government. Filial duty is, in fact, in China, leſs a moral ſentiment, than a precept which by length of time has acquired the efficacy of a poſitive law; and it may truly be ſaid to exiſt more in the maxims of the government,

vernment, than in the minds of the people. Had they, indeed, conſidered filial piety to be ſufficiently ſtrong when left to its own natural influence, a precept or law to enforce it would have been ſuperfluous. The firſt maxim inculcated in early life is the entire ſubmiſſion of children to the will of their parents. The tenour of this precept is not only "to honour thy father "and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land;" but to labour for thy father and thy mother as long as they both ſhall live, to ſell thyſelf into perpetual ſervitude for their ſupport, if neceſſary, and to conſider thy life at their diſpoſal. So much has this ſentiment of parental authority gained ground by precept and habit, that to all intents and purpoſes it is as binding as the ſtrongeſt law. It gives to the parent the exerciſe of the ſame unlimited and arbitrary power over his children, that the Emperor, the common father, poſſeſſes by law over his people. Hence, as among the Romans, the father has the power to ſell his ſon for a ſlave; and this power, either from caprice, or from poverty, or other cauſes, is not unfrequently put in force.

A law that is founded in reaſon or equity ſeldom requires to be explained or juſtified. The government of China, in ſanctioning an act of parental authority that militates ſo ſtrongly againſt every principle of nature, or moral right and wrong, ſeems to have felt the force of this remark. Their learned men have been employed in writing volumes on the ſubject, the principal aim of which appears to be that of impreſſing on the minds of the people the comparative authority of the Emperor over his ſubjects and of a parent over his children. The reaſonableneſs

ſonableneſs and juſtice of the latter being once eſtabliſhed, that of the former, in a patriarchal government, followed of courſe; and the extent of the power delegated to the one could not in juſtice be withheld from the other. And for the better allaying of any ſcruples that might be ſuppoſed to ariſe in men's conſciences, it was eaſy to invent any piece of ſophiſtry to ſerve by way of juſtification for thoſe unnatural parents who might feel themſelves diſpoſed, or who from want might be induced, to part with their children into perpetual ſlavery. A ſon, ſays one of their moſt celebrated lawgivers, after the death of his father, has the power of ſelling his ſervices for a day, or a year, or for life; but a father, while living, has unlimited authority over his ſon; a father has, therefore, the ſame right of ſelling the ſervices of his ſon to another for any length of time, or even for life.

Daughters may be ſaid to be invariably ſold. The bridegroom muſt always make his bargain with the parents of his intended bride. The latter has no choice. She is a lot in the market to be diſpoſed of to the higheſt bidder. The man, indeed, in this reſpect, has no great advantage on his ſide, as he is not allowed to ſee his intended wife until ſhe arrives in formal proceſſion at his gate. If, however, on opening the door of the chair, in which the lady is ſhut up, and of which the key has been ſent before, he ſhould diſlike his bargain, he can return her to her parents; in which caſe the articles are forfeited that conſtituted her price; and a ſum of money, in addition to them, may be demanded, not exceeding, however, the value of

theſe articles. Theſe matrimonial proceſſions, attended with pomp and muſic, are not unlike thoſe uſed by the Greeks when the bride was conducted to her huſband's houſe in a ſplendid car; only, in the former inſtance, the lady is completely inviſible to every one.

To what a degraded condition is a female reduced by this abſurd cuſtom! How little inducement, it would be ſuppoſed, ſhe could have to appear amiable or elegant, or to ſtudy her dreſs, or cramp her feet, or paint her face, knowing ſhe will be conſigned into the hands of the firſt man who will give the price that her parents have fixed upon her charms. No previous converſation is allowed to take place, no exchange of opinions or compariſon of ſentiments with regard to inclinations or diſlikes; all the little ſilent acts of attention and kindneſs, which ſo eloquently ſpeak to the heart, and demonſtrate the ſincerity of the attachment, are utterly unfelt. In a word, that ſtate of the human heart, occaſioned by the mutual affection between the ſexes, and from whence proceed the happieſt, the moſt intereſting, and ſometimes alſo, the moſt diſtreſſing moments of life, has no exiſtence in China. The man takes a wife becauſe the laws of the country direct him to do ſo, and cuſtom has made it indiſpenſable; and the woman, after marriage, continues to be the ſame piece of inanimate furniture ſhe always was in her father's houſe. She ſuffers no indignity, nor does ſhe feel any jealouſy or diſturbance (at leaſt it is prudent not to ſhew it) when her huſband brings into the ſame houſe a ſecond, or a third woman. The firſt is contented with the honour of

preſiding over, and directing the concerns of, the family within doors, and in hearing the children of the others calling her mother.

It might be urged, perhaps, on the part of the huſband, that it would be highly unreaſonable for the woman to complain. The man who purchaſed her ought to have an equal right in the ſame manner to purchaſe others. The caſe is materially different where parties are united by ſentiments of love and eſteem, or bound by promiſes or engagements; under ſuch circumſtances the introduction of a ſecond wife, under the ſame roof, could not fail to diſturb the harmony of the family, and occaſion the moſt poignant feelings of diſtreſs to the firſt. But a Chineſe wife has no ſuch feelings, nor does the huſband make any ſuch engagements.

Although polygamy be allowed by the government, as indeed it could not well happen otherwiſe where women are articles of purchaſe, yet it is an evil that, in a great degree, corrects itſelf. Nine-tenths of the community find it difficult to rear the offspring of one woman by the labour of their hands; ſuch, therefore, are neither in circumſtances, nor probably feel much inclination, to purchaſe a ſecond. The general practice would, beſides, be morally impoſſible. In a country where ſo many female infants are expoſed, and where the laws or cuſtom oblige every man to marry, any perſon taking to himſelf two wives muſt leave ſome other without one, unleſs indeed it be ſuppoſed with the author of *L'Eſprit des Loix*, what there ſeems to be no grounds for ſuppoſing, that a much greater

number of females are born than of males. But all the obſervations of this lively and ingenious author with regard to China, and particularly the inferences he draws with reſpect to climate, fall to the ground. It is not the vigour of natural propenſities, as he has ſuppoſed, that deſtroys the moral ones; it is not the effect of climate that makes it to be conſidered among theſe people "as a prodigy of virtue for a man to meet a fine woman in a retired chamber without offering violence to her,"— it is the effect of ſtudiouſly pampering the appetite, nurturing vicious notions, conſidering women as entirely ſubſervient to the pleaſures of man; and, in ſhort, by fancying thoſe pleaſures in the head, rather than feeling them in the heart, that have led them to adopt a ſentiment which does the nation ſo little credit. The climate being every where temperate, and the diet of the majority of the people moderate, I might ſay ſcanty, theſe have little influence in promoting a vehement deſire for ſexual intercourſe. It is indeed among the upper ranks only and a few wealthy merchants (whom the ſumptuary laws, prohibiting fine houſes, gardens, carriages, and every kind of external ſhew and grandeur, have encouraged ſecretly to indulge and pamper their appetite in every ſpecies of luxury and voluptuouſneſs) where a plurality of wives are to be found. Every great officer of ſtate has his haram conſiſting of ſix, eight, or ten women, according to his circumſtances and his inclination for the ſex. Every merchant alſo of Canton has his ſeraglio; but a poor man finds one wife quite ſufficient for all his wants, and the children of one woman as many, and ſometimes more, than he is able to ſupport.

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The unſociable diſtance which the law (or cuſtom, ſtronger than law) preſcribes to be obſerved between the ſexes, and the cool and indifferent manner of bargaining for a wife, are not calculated to produce numerous inſtances of criminal intercourſe. Theſe, however, ſometimes happen, and the weight of puniſhment always fall heavieſt on the woman. The huſband finds no difficulty in obtaining a ſentence of divorce, after which he may ſell her for a ſlave and thus redeem a part at leaſt of his purchaſe-money. The ſame thing happens in caſe a wife ſhould elope, inſtances of which I fancy are ſtill more rare; as if ſhe be of any faſhion, her feet are ill calculated to carry her off with ſpeed; and if a young girl ſhould chance to loſe what is uſually held to be the moſt valuable part of female reputation, ſhe is ſent to market by her parents and publicly ſold for a ſlave. In caſes of mutual diſlike, or incompatibility of temper, the woman is generally ſent back to her parents. A woman can inherit no property, but it may be left to her by will. If a widow has no children, or females only, the property deſcends to the neareſt male relation on the deceaſed huſband's ſide, but he muſt maintain the daughters until he can provide them with huſbands.

The prohibition againſt the frequent intercourſe with modeſt females, for there are public women in every great city, is not attended here with the effect of rendering the purſuit more eager; nor does it increaſe the ardour, as among the ancient Spartans who were obliged to ſteal, as it were, the embraces of their lawful wives. In China it ſeems to have the contrary effect of promoting that ſort of connexion which, being one of the

the greateſt violations of the laws of nature, ought to be conſidered among the firſt of moral crimes—a connexion that ſinks the man many degrees below the brute. The commiſſion of this deteſtable and unnatural act is attended with ſo little ſenſe of ſhame, or feelings of delicacy, that many of the firſt officers of ſtate ſeemed to make no heſitation in publicly avowing it. Each of theſe officers is conſtantly attended by his pipe-bearer, who is generally a handſome boy from fourteen to eighteen years of age, and is always well dreſſed. In pointing out to our notice the boys of each other, they made uſe of ſigns and motions, the meaning of which was too obvious to be miſinterpreted. The two Mahomedans, I obſerve, who were in China in the ninth century, have alſo taken notice of this circumſtance: and I find in the journal of Mr. Hittner, a gentleman who was in that part of the ſuite who accompanied the Britiſh Embaſſador into Tartary, in ſpeaking of the palaces of Gehol, the following remark: " Dans l'un de ces palais, parmi d'autres " chefs-d'œuvres de l'art, on voyait deux ſtatues de garçons, en " marbre, d'un excellent travail; ils avaient les pieds et les " mains liés, et leur poſition ne laiſſait point de doute que le " vice des Grecs n'eût perdu ſon horreur pour les Chinois. Un " vieil eunuque nous les fit remarquer avec un ſourire impu- " dent."

It has been remarked that this unnatural crime prevails moſt in thoſe countries where polygamy is allowed, that is to ſay, in thoſe countries where the affections of women are not conſulted, but their perſons purchaſed for gold—a remark which may lead to this concluſion, that it is rather a moral turpitude than

than a propenſity ariſing from phyſical or local cauſes. The appetite for female intercourſe ſoon becomes glutted by the facility of enjoyment; and where women, ſo circumſtanced, can only receive the embraces of their proprietors from a ſenſe of duty, their coldneſs and indifference, the neceſſary conſequence of ſuch connections, muſt alſo increaſe in the men the tendency to produce ſatiety. I think it has been obſerved that, even in Europe, where females in general have the ſuperior advantage of fixing their own value upon themſelves, it is the greateſt rakes and debauchees, who,

" —— bred at home in idleneſs and riot,
" Ranſack for miſtreſſes th' unwholeſome ſtews,
" And never know the worth of virtuous love."

fly ſometimes in ſearch of freſh enjoyment in the deteſtable way here alluded to*.

I have already obſerved that the ſtate of domeſtic ſociety in China was ill calculated to promote the affection and kindneſs which children not only owe to, but really feel for, their parents in many countries of Europe. A tyrant, in fact, to command, and a ſlave to obey, are found in every family; for, where the father is a deſpot, the ſon will naturally be a ſlave; and if all the little acts of kindneſs and ſilent attentions, that create

* I ſhould not have taken notice of this odious vice, had not the truth of its exiſtence in China been doubted by ſome, and attributed by others to a wrong cauſe. Profeſſing to deſcribe the people as I found them, I muſt endeavour to draw a faithful picture, neither attempting to palliate their vices, nor to exaggerate their virtues.

mutual

mutual endearments, be wanting among the members of the ſame family, living under the ſame roof, it will be in vain to expect to find them in the enlarged ſphere of public life. In fact, they have no kind of friendly ſocieties nor meetings to talk over the tranſactions and the news of the day. Theſe can only take place in a free government. A Chineſe having finiſhed his daily employment retires to his ſolitary apartment. There are, it is true, a ſort of public houſes where the lower orders of people ſometimes reſort for their cup of tea or of *ſeau-tchoo* (a kind of ardent ſpirit diſtilled from a mixture of rice and other grain) but ſuch houſes are ſeldom, if at all, frequented for the ſake of company. They are no incitement, as thoſe are of a ſimilar kind in Europe, to jovial pleaſures or to vulgar ebriety. From this odious vice the bulk of the people are entirely free. Among the multitudes which we daily ſaw, in paſſing from one extremity of the country to the other, I do not recollect having ever met with a ſingle inſtance of a man being diſguiſed in liquor. In Canton, where the lower orders of people are employed by Europeans and neceſſarily mix with European ſeamen, intoxication is not unfrequent among the natives, but this vice forms no part of the general character of the people. Whenever a few Chineſe happen to meet together, it is generally for the purpoſe of gaming, or to eat a kettle of boiled rice, or drink a pot of tea, or ſmoke a pipe of tobacco.

The upper ranks indulge at home in the uſe of opium. Great quantities of this intoxicating drug are ſmuggled into the country, notwithſtanding all the precautions taken by the government to prohibit the importation of it; but it is too expenſive to

to be uſed by the common people. The officers of the cuſtoms are not beyond a bribe. After receiving the ſum agreed upon between the importer and themſelves they frequently become the purchaſers of the prohibited article. Moſt of the country ſhips from Bengal carry opium to China; but that of Turkey ſent from London in the China ſhips is preferred, and ſells at near double the price of the other. The governor of Canton, after deſcribing in one of his late proclamations on the ſubject the pernicious and fatal effects ariſing from the uſe of opium, obſerves, "Thus it is that foreigners by the means of a vile excrementitious ſubſtance derive from this empire the moſt ſolid profits and advantages; but that our countrymen ſhould blindly purſue this deſtructive and enſnaring vice, even till death is the conſequence, without being undeceived, is indeed a fact odious and deplorable in the higheſt degree." Yet the governor of Canton very compoſedly takes his daily doſe of opium.

The young people have no occaſional aſſemblies for the purpoſe of dancing and of exerciſing themſelves in feats of activity which, in Europe, are attended with the happy effects of ſhaking off the gloom and melancholy that a life of conſtant labour or ſecluſion from ſociety is apt to promote. They have not even a fixed day of reſt ſet apart for religious worſhip. Their acts of devotion partake of the ſame ſolitary caſt that prevails in their domeſtic life. In none of the different ſects of religion, which at various times have been imported into, and adopted in China, has congregational worſhip been

inculcated, which, to that country in particular, may be conſidered as a great misfortune. For, independent of religious conſiderations, the ſabbatical inſtitution is attended with advantages of a phyſical as well as of a moral nature; and humanity is not leſs concerned than policy in conſecrating one day out of ſeven, or ſome other given number, to the ſervice of the great Creator, and to reſt from bodily labour. When the government of France, in the height of her rage for innovation, fell into the hands of atheiſtical demagogues, when her temples were polluted and every thing ſacred was invaded and profaned, the ſeventh day was conſidered as a relic of ancient ſuperſtition and the obſervance of it accordingly aboliſhed; and, about the ſame time, it became the faſhion among a certain deſcription of people to uſe ſpecious arguments againſt its continuance in our own country; as being, for example, a day for the encouragement of idleneſs, drunkenneſs, and diſſipation. Such a remark could only be applied to large cities and towns; and in crowded manufacturing towns the mechanic, who can ſubſiſt by working three days in the week, would be at no loſs in finding opportunities, were there no ſabbath day, in the courſe of the other four to commit irregularities. And who, even for the ſake of the mechanic and artificer, would wiſh to ſee the labouring peaſant deprived of one day's reſt, out of ſeven, which to him is more precious than the wages he has hardly earned the other ſix? What man, poſſeſſed of common feelings of humanity, in beholding the decent and modeſt huſbandman, accompanied by his family in their beſt attire attending the pariſh-church, does not participate in the ſmile of content which on this day particularly beams on his countenance, and

and beſpeaks the ſerenity of his mind? Having on this day diſcharged his duty to God, refreſhed his body with reſt, enjoyed the comfort of clean clothing, and exerciſed his mind in converſing with his neighbours, he returns with double vigour to his daily labour; having, as Mr. Addiſon obſerves in one of his Spectators, rubbed off the ruſt of the week.

The firſt of the new year in China, and a few ſucceeding days, are the only holidays, properly ſpeaking, that are obſerved by the working part of the community. On theſe days the pooreſt peaſant makes a point of procuring new clothing for himſelf and his family; they pay their viſits to friends and relations, interchange civilities and compliments, make and receive preſents; and the officers of government and the higher ranks give feaſts and entertainments. But even in thoſe feaſts there is nothing that bears the reſemblance of conviviality. The gueſts never partake together of the ſame ſervice of diſhes, but each has frequently his ſeparate table; ſometimes two, but never more than four, ſit at the ſame table; and their eyes muſt conſtantly be kept upon the maſter of the feaſt, to watch all his motions, and to obſerve every morſel he puts into his mouth, and every time he lifts the cup to his lips; for a Chineſe of good-breeding can neither eat nor drink without a particular ceremony, to which the gueſts muſt pay attention. If a perſon invited ſhould, from ſickneſs or any accident, be prevented from fulfilling his engagement, the portion of the dinner that was intended to be placed on his table is ſent in proceſſion to his own houſe; a cuſtom that ſtrongly points out the very little notion

they entertain of the *ſocial* pleaſures of the table. It is cuſtomary to ſend after each gueſt the remains even of his dinner. Whenever in the courſe of our journey we viſited a governor or viceroy of a province, we generally found him at the head of a range of tables, covered with a multitude of diſhes, which invariably were marched after us to the yachts. Martial, if I miſtake not, has ſome alluſion to a ſimilar cuſtom among the Romans. Each carried his own napkin to a feaſt, which being filled with the remains of the entertainment was ſent home by a ſlave; but this appears to have been done more out of compliment to the hoſt, to ſhew the great eſteem in which they held his cheer, than for the ſake of the viands; for the Romans loved conviviality.

The Chineſe alſo, like the ancient Egyptians as exemplified in the enormous meſs which Joſeph gave to little Benjamin above the reſt of his brothers, teſtify, on all occaſions, that they conſider the meaſure of a man's ſtomach to depend more upon the rank of its owner than either his bulk or appetite. The Embaſſador's allowance was at leaſt five times as great as that of any perſon in his ſuite. In this particular, however, theſe nations are not ſingular, neither in ancient nor in modern times. The kings of Sparta, and indeed every Grecian hero, were always ſuppoſed to eat twice the quantity of a common ſoldier; and the only difference with regard to our heroes of the preſent day conſiſts in their being enabled to convert quantity into quality, an advantage for which they are not a little indebted to the invention of money, into which all other articles can be commuted.

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Whatever may be the occaſion of bringing together a few idlers, they ſeldom part without trying their luck at ſome game of chance for which a Chineſe is never unprepared. He rarely goes abroad without a pack of cards in his pocket or a pair of dice. Both of theſe, like almoſt every thing elſe in the country, are different from ſimilar articles elſewhere. Their cards are much more numerous than ours, and their games much more complicated. Nor are they at any loſs, even if none of the party ſhould happen to be furniſhed with cards or dice; on ſuch an emergency their fingers are employed to anſwer the purpoſe, which are all that is required to play the game of *Tſoi-moi*, a game of which the lower claſs of people is particularly fond. Two perſons, ſitting directly oppoſite to each other, raiſe their hands at the ſame moment, when each calls out the number he gueſſes to be the ſum of the fingers expanded by himſelf and his adverſary. The cloſed fiſt is none, the thumb one, the thumb and forefinger two, &c. ſo that the chances lie between 0 and 5, as each muſt know the number held out by himſelf. The middling claſs of people likewiſe play at this game when they give entertainments where wine is ſerved, and the loſer is always obliged to drink off a cup of wine. At this childiſh game two perſons will ſometimes play to a very late hour, till he who has had the worſt of the game has been obliged to drink ſo much wine that he can no longer ſee either to count his own or his adverſary's fingers. I have thus particularly noticed the Chineſe *Tſoi-moi*, on account of the extraordinary coincidence between it and a game in uſe among the Romans, to which frequent alluſion is made by Cicero. In a note by Melancthon on Cicero's Offices it is thus deſcribed. "*Micare*

" *digitis*, ludi genus eſt. Sic ludentes, ſimul digitos alterius " manus quot volunt citiſſime erigunt, et ſimul ambo divinant " quot ſimul erecti ſint; quod qui definivit, lucratus eſt: unde " acri viſu opus, et multa fide, ut cum aliquo in tenebris micem." " *Micare digitis*, is a kind of game. Thoſe who play at it " ſtretch out, with great quickneſs, as many fingers of one hand " each, as they pleaſe, and at the ſame inſtant both gueſs how " many are held up by the two together; and he who gueſſes " right wins the game: hence a ſharp ſight is neceſſary, and " alſo great confidence when it is played in the dark."

The Chineſe have certainly the *acer viſus*, but I doubt much whether they have faith enough in each other's integrity to play at the game of fingers in the dark, which, in the opinion of Cicero, was a ſtrong teſt of a truly honeſt man. The ſame game is ſaid to be ſtill played in Italy under the name of *Morra* *.

The officers about Yuen-min-yuen uſed to play a kind of cheſs, which appeared to me to be eſſentially different from that game as played by the Perſians, the Indians, and other oriental nations, both with regard to the lines drawn on the board, the form of the cheſs-men, and the moves, from which I ſhould rather conclude it to be a game of their own invention, than an introduction either from India or by the army of *Gengis-khan*, as ſome authors have conjectured.

* Adam's Roman Antiquities.

The

The ſpirit of gaming is ſo univerſal in moſt of the towns and cities, that in almoſt every bye-corner, groupes are to be found playing at cards or throwing dice. They are accuſed even of frequently ſtaking their wives and children on the hazard of a die. It may eaſily be conceived that where a man can ſell his children into ſlavery, there can be little remorſe, in the breaſt of a gameſter reduced to his laſt ſtake, to riſk the loſs of what the law has ſanctioned him to diſpoſe of. Yet we are very gravely aſſured by ſome of the reverend miſſionaries, that "the Chineſe are entirely ignorant of all games of "chance;" that "they can enjoy no amuſements but ſuch as are "authorized by the laws." Theſe gentlemen ſurely could not be ignorant that one of their moſt favourite ſports is cock-fighting, and that this cruel and unmanly *amuſement*, as they are pleaſed to conſider it, is full as eagerly purſued by the upper claſſes in China as, to their ſhame and diſgrace be it ſpoken, it continues to be by thoſe in a ſimilar ſituation in ſome parts of Europe. The training of quails for the ſame cruel purpoſe of butchering each other furniſhes abundance of employment for the idle and diſſipated. They have even extended their enquiries after fighting animals into the inſect tribe, in which they have diſcovered a ſpecies of *gryllus*, or locuſt, that will attack each other with ſuch ferocity as ſeldom to quit their hold without bringing away at the ſame time a limb of their antagoniſt. Theſe little creatures are fed and kept apart in bamboo cages; and the cuſtom of making them devour each other is ſo common that, during the ſummer months, ſcarcely a boy is ſeen without his cage and his graſshoppers.

I have

I have already had occaſion to obſerve that the natural diſpoſition of the Chineſe ſhould ſeem to have ſuffered almoſt a total change by the influence of the laws and maxims of government, an influence which, in this country more than elſewhere, has given a bias to the manners, ſentiments, and moral character of the people; for here every ancient proverb carries with it the force of a law. While they are by nature quiet, paſſive, and timid, the ſtate of ſociety and the abuſe of the laws by which they are governed, have rendered them indifferent, unfeeling, and even cruel, as a few examples, which among many others occurred, will but too clearly bear evidence; and as the particular inſtances, from which I have ſometimes drawn an inference, accorded with the common actions and occurrences of life, I have not heſitated to conſider them as ſo many general features in their moral character; at the ſame time I am aware that allowances ought to be made for particular ways of thinking, and for cuſtoms entirely diſſimilar from our own, which are, therefore, not exactly to be appreciated by the ſame rule as if they had occurred in our own country. The public feaſts of Sparta, in which the girls danced naked in preſence of young men, had not the ſame effect on the Lacedemonian youth, as they might be ſuppoſed to produce in Europe; nor is the delicacy of the Hindoo women offended by looking on the Lingam. Thus the Chineſe are entitled to our indulgence by the peculiar circumſtances under which they are placed, but I leave it in the breaſt of the reader to make what allowance he may think they deſerve.

The

The common practice of flogging with the bamboo has generally been conſidered by the miſſionaries in the light of a gentle correction, exerciſed by men in power over their inferiors, juſt as a father would chaſtiſe his ſon, but not as a puniſhment to which diſgrace is attached. However lightly theſe gentlemen may chuſe to treat this humiliating chaſtiſement, to which all are liable from the prime miniſter to the peaſant, it is but too often inflicted in the anger and by the caprice of a man in office, and frequently with circumſtances of unwarrantable cruelty and injuſtice. Of the truth of this remark we had ſeveral inſtances. In our return down the *Pei-ho*, the water being conſiderably ſhallower than when we firſt ſailed up this river, one of our accommodation barges got aground in the middle of the night. The air was piercing cold, and the poor creatures belonging to the veſſel were buſy until ſunriſe in the midſt of the river, uſing their endeavours to get her off. The reſt of the fleet had proceeded, and the patience of the ſuperintending officer at length being exhauſted, he ordered his ſoldiers to flog the captain and the whole crew; which was accordingly done in a moſt unmerciful manner: and this was their only reward for the uſe of the yacht, their time and labour for two days. The inſtance of degrading an officer and flogging all his people, becauſe the meat brought for our uſe was a little tainted when the temperature was at 88° in the ſhade, I have already had occaſion to notice.

Whenever the wind was contrary, or it was found neceſſary to track the veſſels againſt the ſtream, a number of men were employed for this purpoſe. The poor creatures were always

preſſed into this diſagreeable and laborious ſervice, for which they were to receive about ſixpence a day ſo long as they tracked, without any allowance being made to them for returning to the place from whence they were forced. Theſe people knowing the difficulty there was of getting others to ſupply their places, and that their ſervices would be required until ſuch ſhould be procured, generally deſerted by night, diſregarding their pay. In order to procure others, the officers diſpatched their ſoldiers to the neareſt village, taking the inhabitants by ſurprize and forcing them out of their beds to join the yachts. Scarcely a night occurred in which ſome poor wretches did not ſuffer the laſhes of the ſoldiers for attempting to eſcape, or for pleading the excuſe of old age, or infirmity. It was painful to behold the deplorable condition of ſome of theſe creatures. Several were half naked and appeared to be waſting and languiſhing for want of food. Yet the taſk of dragging along the veſſels was far from being light. Sometimes they were under the neceſſity of wading to the middle in mud; ſometimes to ſwim acroſs creeks, and immediately afterwards to expoſe their naked bodies to a ſcorching ſun; and they were always driven by a ſoldier or the lictor of ſome petty police officer carrying in his hand an enormous whip, with which he laſhed them with as little reluctance as if they had been a team of horſes.

The Dutch Embaſſy proceeded by land to the capital, in the middle of winter, when the rivers and canals were frozen. The thermometer was frequently from 8 to 16 degrees below the freezing point, and the face of the country was moſtly covered with ice and ſnow; yet they were often under the neceſ-

ſity of travelling all night; and the peaſantry, who were preſſed to carry the preſents and their baggage, notwithſtanding their heavy loads, were obliged to keep up with them as long as they could. In the courſe of two nights, Mr. Van Braam obſerves, not leſs than eight of theſe poor wretches actually expired under their burdens, through cold, hunger, fatigue, and the cruel treatment of their drivers.

It had been the practice of ſome of the gentlemen of the Britiſh embaſſy, in their return through the country, to walk during a part of the day, and to join the barges towards the hour of dinner. One day an officer of high rank took it into his head to interrupt them in their uſual walk, and for this purpoſe diſpatched after them nine or ten of his ſoldiers, who forced them in a rude manner to return to the veſſels. Our two conductors *Van* and *Chou*, coming up at the time, and being made acquainted with the circumſtance, gave to each of the ſoldiers a moſt ſevere flogging. One of theſe, who had been particularly inſolent, had his ears bored through with iron wire, and his hands bound to them for ſeveral days. The viceroy of Canton was at this time with the embaſſy, and being in rank ſuperior to the offending officer, he ordered the latter to appear before him, gave him a ſevere reprimand, and ſentenced him to receive forty ſtrokes of the bamboo as a *gentle correction*. Our two Chineſe friends were particularly preſſing that the gentlemen inſulted ſhould be preſent at the puniſhment of the officer, and it was not without difficulty they could be perſuaded that ſuch a ſcene would not afford them any gratification. It happened alſo, in the Dutch embaſſy, that an inferior officer was flogged and

diſgraced by their conductors for not having in readineſs a ſufficient number of coolies or porters to proceed with the baggage, and to carry the ſedan chairs in which they travelled.

The tyranny that men in office exerciſe over the multitude, and each other, is perfectly agreeable to the ſyſtematic ſubordination which the law has ſanctioned. But as authority is a dangerous depoſit in the hands of the wiſeſt, and leads ſometimes the moſt wary to

> "Play ſuch fantaſtic tricks before high heaven
> "As make the angels weep,"

what muſt the effects of it be when veſted in an illiterate Chineſe or rude Tartar who has no other talent or recommendation for his authority than the power alone which his office allows him to exerciſe?

Several inſtances however occurred in the courſe of our journey through the country, which ſeemed to mark the ſame unfeeling and hard-hearted diſpoſition to exiſt between perſons of equal condition in life, as in men in office over their inferiors. One of theſe afforded an extraordinary trait of inhumanity. A poor fellow at Macao, in the employ of the Britiſh factory there, fell by accident from a wall and pitched upon his ſkull. His companions took him up with very little appearance of life and, in this ſtate, were carrying him away towards the ſkirts of the town, where they were met by one of the medical gentlemen belonging to the embaſſy. He interrogated them what they meant to do with the unfortunate man, and was very coolly

coolly anſwered, they were going to bury him. Having expreſſed his aſtoniſhment that they ſhould think of putting a man into the grave before the breath was out of his body, they replied that they were of opinion he never could recover, and that if they carried him home he would only be a trouble and expence to his friends ſo long as he remained in a ſituation which rendered him unable to aſſiſt himſelf. The man, however, by the humanity and attention of Doctor Scott, was reſtored again to his family and to thoſe friends who knew ſo well to appreciate the value of his life.

The doctor however was not aware of the riſk he ran in thus exerciſing his humanity, as by a law of the country, which appears to us extraordinary, if a wounded man be taken into the protection and charge of any perſon with a view to effect his recovery, and he ſhould happen to die under his hands, the perſon into whoſe care he was laſt taken is liable to be puniſhed with death, unleſs he can produce undeniable evidence to prove how the wound was made, or that he ſurvived it forty days. The conſequence of ſuch a law is, that if a perſon ſhould happen to be mortally wounded in an affray, he is ſuffered to die in the ſtreets, from the fear (ſhould any one take charge of him) of being made reſponſible for his life.

A ſtriking inſtance of the fatal effects of ſuch a law happened at Canton lately. A fire broke out in the ſuburbs and three Chineſe, in aſſiſting to extinguiſh it, had their limbs fractured and were otherwiſe dreadfully wounded by the falling of a wall. The ſurgeon of the Engliſh factory, with all the alacrity to adminiſter

miniſter relief to ſuffering humanity, which characterizes the profeſſion in Britain, directed them to be carried to the factory, and was preparing to perform amputation, as the only poſſible means of ſaving their lives, when one of the Hong merchants having heard what was going on ran with great haſte to the place, and entreated the ſurgeon by no means to think of performing any operation upon them, but rather to ſuffer them to be taken away from the factory as ſpeedily as poſſible; adding that, however good his intentions might be, if any one of the patients ſhould die under his hands, he would inevitably be tried for murder, and the moſt mitigated puniſhment would be that of baniſhment for life into the wilds of Tartary. The wounded Chineſe were accordingly removed privately, and, no doubt, abandoned to their fate.

The operation of ſuch a barbarous law (for ſo it appears to us) will ſerve to explain the conduct of the Chineſe in the following inſtance. In the courſe of our journey down the grand canal we had occaſion to witneſs a ſcene, which was conſidered as a remarkable example of a want of fellow-feeling. Of the number of perſons who had crowded down to the banks of the canal ſeveral had poſted themſelves upon the high projecting ſtern of an old veſſel which, unfortunately, breaking down with the weight, the whole groupe tumbled with the wreck into the canal, juſt at the moment when the yachts of the embaſſy were paſſing. Although numbers of boats were ſailing about the place, none were perceived to go to the aſſiſtance of thoſe that were ſtruggling in the water. They even ſeemed not to know that ſuch an accident had happened, nor could the ſhrieks of the boys, float-

floating on pieces of the wreck, attract their attention. One fellow was obſerved very buſily employed in picking up, with his boat-hook, the hat of a drowning man. It was in vain we endeavoured to prevail on the people of our veſſel to heave to and ſend the boat to their aſſiſtance. It is true, we were then going at the rate of ſeven miles an hour, which was the plea they made for not ſtopping. I have no doubt that ſeveral of theſe unfortunate people muſt inevitably have periſhed.

Being thus inſenſible to the ſufferings of their companions and countrymen, little compaſſion is to be expected from them towards ſtrangers. From a manuſcript journal, kept by a gentleman in the ſuite of the Dutch Embaſſador, it appears that, on their route to the capital, the writer felt an inclination to try his ſkaits on a ſheet of ice that they paſſed by the road-ſide; he was alſo urged to it by the conducting officers. Having proceeded to ſome diſtance from the ſhore, the ice gave way and he fell in up to the neck. The Chineſe, inſtead of rendering him any aſſiſtance, in the abſence of his own countrymen who had gone forwards, ran away laughing at this accident and left him to ſcramble out as well as he could, which was not effected without very great difficulty.

But, if further proofs were wanting to eſtabliſh the inſenſible and incompaſſionate character of the Chineſe, the horrid practice of infanticide, tolerated by cuſtom and encouraged by the government, can leave no doubt on this ſubject.—I venture to ſay encouraged, becauſe where the legiſlature does not interfere to prevent crimes, it certainly may be ſaid to lend them its countenance.

countenance. No law, however, allows, as I obſerve it noticed in a modern author of reputation, a father to expoſe all the daughters and the third ſon. I believe the laws of China do not ſuppoſe ſuch an unnatural crime to exiſt, and have therefore provided no puniſhment for it. It is true, they have left a child to the entire diſpoſal of the father, concluding, perhaps, that if his feelings will not prevent him from doing it an injury, no other conſideration will. Thus, though the commiſſion of infanticide be frequent in China, it is conſidered as more prudent to wink at it as an inevitable evil which natural affection will better correct than penal ſtatutes; an evil that, on the other hand, if publicly tolerated, would directly contradict the grand principle of filial piety, upon which their ſyſtem of obedience reſts, and their patriarchal form of government is founded.

It is, however, tacitly conſidered as a part of the duty of the police of Pekin to employ certain perſons to go their rounds, at an early hour in the morning, with carts, in order to pick up ſuch bodies of infants as may have been thrown out into the ſtreets in the courſe of the night. No inquiries are made, but the bodies are carried to a common pit without the city walls, into which all thoſe that may be living, as well as thoſe that are dead, are ſaid to be thrown promiſcuouſly. At this horrible pit of deſtruction the Roman Catholic miſſionaries, eſtabliſhed in Pekin, attend by turns as a part of the duties of their office, in order, as one of them expreſſed himſelf to me on this ſubject, to chuſe among them thoſe that are the moſt *lively*, to make future proſelytes, and by the adminiſtration of baptiſm to ſuch of the reſt

reſt as might be ſtill alive, *pour leur ſauver l'ame.* The Mahomedans who, at the time that their ſervices were uſeful in aſſiſting to prepare the national calendar, had a powerful influence at Court, did much better: theſe zealous bigots to a religion, whoſe leaſt diſtinguiſhing feature is that of humanity, were, however, on theſe occaſions, the means of ſaving the *lives* of all the little innocents they poſſibly could ſave from this maw of death, which was an humane act, although it might be for the purpoſe of bringing them up in the principles of their own faith. I was aſſured by one of the Chriſtian miſſionaries, with whom I had daily converſation during a reſidence of five weeks within the walls of the Emperor's palace at *Yuen-min-yuen*, and who took his turn in attending, *pour leur ſauver l'ame*, that ſuch ſcenes were ſometimes exhibited on theſe occaſions as to make the feeling mind ſhudder with horror. When I mention that dogs and ſwine are let looſe in all the narrow ſtreets of the capital, the reader may conceive what will ſometimes neceſſarily happen to the expoſed infants, before the police-carts can pick them up.

The number of children thus unnaturally and inhumanly ſlaughtered, or interred alive, in the courſe of a year, is differently ſtated by different authors, ſome making it about ten and others thirty thouſand in the whole empire. The truth, as generally happens, may probably lie about the middle. The miſſionaries, who alone poſſeſs the means of aſcertaining nearly the number that is thus ſacrificed in the capital, differ very materially in their ſtatements: taking the mean, as given by thoſe with whom we converſed on the ſubject, I ſhould conclude that

about twenty-four infants were, on an average, in Pekin, daily carried to the pit of death where the little innocents that have not yet breathed their laſt are condemned without remorſe,

" ——— to be ſtifled in the vault,
" To whoſe foul mouth no healthſome air breathes in,
" And there die."

This calculation gives nine thouſand nearly for the capital alone, where it is ſuppoſed about an equal number are expoſed to that of all the other parts of the empire. Thoſe, whoſe conſtant reſidence is upon the water, and whoſe poverty, or ſuperſtition, or total inſenſibility, or whatever the cauſe may be that leads them to the perpetration of an act againſt which nature revolts, ſometimes, it is ſaid, expoſe their infants by throwing them into the canal or river with a gourd tied round their necks, to keep the head above water, and preſerve them alive until ſome humane perſon may be induced to pick them up. This hazardous experiment, in a country where humanity appears to be reduced to ſo low an ebb, can only be conſidered as an aggravation of cruelty. I have ſeen the dead body of an infant, but without any gourd, floating down the river of Canton among the boats, and the people ſeemed to take no more notice of it than if it had been the carcaſe of a dog: this, indeed, would in all probability have attracted their attention, dogs being an article of food commonly uſed by them; the miſerable half-famiſhed Chineſe, living upon the water, are glad to get any thing in the ſhape of animal food, which they will even eat in a ſtate of putrefaction. Yet, little ſcrupulous as they are with

regard to diet, I am not credulous enough to believe the information of a Swediſh author* to be correct in his ſtatement of a cure for a certain diſeaſe, though "he has no reaſon to doubt of the fact," *per τεκνοφαγιαν alternis diebus, alternis jejunio—by eating children every other day!*

A picture ſo horrid in its nature as the expoſing of infants preſents to the imagination is not to be ſurpaſſed among the moſt ſavage nations. The celebrated legiſlator of Athens made no law to puniſh parricide, becauſe he conſidered it as a crime againſt nature, too heinous ever to be committed, and that the bare ſuppoſition of ſuch a crime would have diſgraced the country. The Chineſe, in like manner, have no poſitive law againſt infanticide. The laws of the rude and warlike Spartans allowed infanticide, of which, however, the parents were not the perpetrators, nor the abettors. Nor, among theſe people, were the weak and ſickly children, deemed by the magiſtrates unlikely ever to become of uſe to themſelves, or to the public, thrown into the *αποθηκη*, or common repoſitory of the dead bodies of children, until life had been previouſly extinguiſhed, we will charitably ſuppoſe, by gentle and the leaſt painful means.

The expoſing of children, however, it muſt be allowed, was very common among the ancients. The ſtern and rigid virtues of the Romans allowed this among many other cuſtoms, that were more unnatural than amiable, and ſuch as in civilized ſocieties of the preſent day would have been conſidered among the moſt atrocious of moral crimes. A Roman father, if his in-

* Mr. Torreen.

fant was meant to be preſerved, lifted it from the ground in his arms; if he neglected that ceremony, the child, it would ſeem, was conſidered as doomed to expoſure in the highway. Thus, in the Andrian of Terence, where, though the ſcene is not laid in Rome, Roman cuſtoms are deſcribed, "quidquid peperiſſet, "decreverunt tollere." "Let it be boy or girl they have re-"ſolved to lift it from the ground." Nor indeed is ſecret infanticide unknown in modern Europe, although it may be owing to a different principle. In ſuch caſes, the ſenſe of ſhame and the fear of encountering the ſcorn and obloquy of the world have determined the conduct of the unhappy mother, before the feelings of nature could have time to operate. For I am willing to hope that none who had ever experienced a mother's feelings and a mother's joy would conſent by any means, direct or indirect, or under any impreſſion of fear of ſhame, of ſcorn, or biting penury, to the deſtruction of a new-born babe. And I may venture to ſay with confidence, that a Britiſh cottager, however indigent, would divide his ſcanty pittance among a dozen children rather than conſent to let ſome of them periſh, that he and the reſt might fare the better, were even our laws as tacit on this ſubject as thoſe of China.

Some of the Chriſtian miſſionaries, in their accounts of this country, have attempted to palliate the unnatural act of expoſing infants, by attributing it to the midwife, who they pretend to ſay, from knowing the circumſtances of the parents, ſtrangle the child without the knowledge of the mother, telling her that the infant was ſtill-born. Others have aſcribed the practice to a belief in the metempſycoſis, or tranſmigration of ſouls into other

other bodies; that the parents, ſeeing their children muſt be doomed to poverty, think it is better at once to let the ſoul eſcape in ſearch of a more happy aſylum, than to linger in one condemned to want and wretchedneſs. No degree of ſuperſtition, one would imagine, could prevail upon a parent to reaſon thus, in that moſt anxious and critical moment when the combined efforts of hope and fear, of exquiſite joy and ſevere pain, agitate by turns the mother's breaſt. Beſides, the Chineſe trouble themſelves very little with ſuperſtitious notions, unleſs where they apprehend ſome perſonal danger. Nor is it more probable that the midwife ſhould take upon herſelf the commiſſion of a concealed and voluntary murder of an innocent and helpleſs infant, for the ſake of ſparing thoſe feelings in another, of which the ſuppoſition implies ſhe could not poſſibly partake; and if ſhe ſhould be encouraged by the father, whoſe affections for an infant child may be more gradually unfolded than the mother's, to perpetrate ſo horrid an act, we muſt allow that to the exiſtence of unnatural and murtherous parents muſt be added that of hired ruffians; ſo that Chineſe virtue would gain little by ſuch a ſuppoſition.

It is much more probable that extreme poverty and hopeleſs indigence, the frequent experience of direful famines, and the ſcenes of miſery and calamity occaſioned by them, acting on minds whoſe affections are not very powerful, induce this unnatural crime which common cuſtom has encouraged, and which is not prohibited by poſitive law. That this is the caſe, and that future advantages are not overlooked, will appear from the circumſtance of almoſt all the infants that are expoſed being females,

males, who are the leaſt able to provide for themſelves, and the leaſt profitable to their parents; and the practice is moſt frequent in crowded cities, where not only poverty more commonly prevails, but ſo many examples daily occur of inhumanity, of ſummary puniſhments, acts of violence and cruelty, that the mind becomes callous and habituated to ſcenes that once would have ſhocked, and is at length ſcarcely ſuſceptible of the enormity of crimes.

I am afraid, however, it is but too common a practice even in the remoteſt corners of the provinces. A reſpectable French miſſionary, now in London, who was many years in *Fo-kien*, told me that he once happened to call on one of his converts juſt at the moment his wife was brought to-bed. The devoted infant was delivered to the father in order to be plunged into a jar of water that was prepared for the purpoſe. The miſſionary expoſtulated with the man on the heinouſneſs of an act that was a crime againſt God and nature. The man perſiſted that, having already more than he could ſupport, it would be a greater crime to preſerve a life condemned to want and miſery, than to take it away without pain. The miſſionary, finding that no argument of his was likely to divert him from his purpoſe, obſerved "that, as a Chriſtian, he could not refuſe him the ſatisfaction of "ſaving the infant's ſoul by baptiſm." During the ceremony, as the father held the infant in his arms he happened to fix his eyes on its face, when the miſſionary thought he perceived the feelings of nature begin to work; and he protracted the ceremony to give time for the latent ſpark of parental affection to kindle into flame. When the ceremony was ended; "Now,"

ſays

ſays the miſſionary, " I have done my duty in ſaving a ſoul " from periſhing." " And I," rejoined the man, " will do " mine, by ſaving its life," and hurried away with the infant to depoſit it in the boſom of its mother.

How very weak then, in reality, muſt be the boaſted filial affection of the Chineſe for their parents, when they ſcruple not to become the murderers of their own children, towards whom, according to the immutable laws of nature, the force of affection will ever be ſtronger than for thoſe whom the laws of China, in preference, have commanded to be protected and ſupported when rendered incapable of aſſiſting themſelves. The truth of this obſervation, which I believe few will call in queſtion, is a ſtrong proof that, as I have already remarked, filial piety among the Chineſe may rather be conſidered in the light of an ancient precept, carrying with it the weight of a poſitive law, than the effect of ſentiment.

It is right to mention here (what however is no palliation of the crime, though a diminution of the extent of it) a circumſtance which I do not recollect to have ſeen noticed by any author, and the truth of which I have too good authority to call in queſtion. As every corpſe great and ſmall muſt be carried to a place of burial at a conſiderable diſtance without the city, and as cuſtom requires that all funerals ſhould be conducted with very heavy expences, people in Pekin, even thoſe in comfortable circumſtances, make no heſitation in laying in baſkets ſtill-born children, or infants who may die the firſt month, knowing that they will be taken up by the police.

This

This being the caſe, we may eaſily conceive that, in a city ſaid to contain three millions of people, a great proportion of the nine thouſand, which we have ſuppoſed to be annually expoſed, may be of the above deſcription. According to the rules of political arithmetic, and ſuppoſing half of thoſe who died to be expoſed, the number would be diminiſhed to about 4000. The expence attending a Chineſe funeral is more extravagant than an European can well conceive. A rich Hong merchant at Canton is known to have kept his mother near twelve months above ground, becauſe it was not convenient for him to bury her in a manner ſuitable to his ſuppoſed wealth and ſtation.

I am informed alſo that foundling hoſpitals do exiſt in China, but that they are on a ſmall ſcale, being raiſed and ſupported by donations of individuals, and their continuance is therefore as precarious as the wealth of their charitable founders.

Theſe unfavourable features in the character of a people, whoſe natural diſpoſition is neither ferocious nor moroſe; but, on the contrary, mild, obliging, and cheerful, can be attributed only to the habits in which they have been trained, and to the heavy hand of power perpetually hanging over them. That this is actually the caſe may be inferred from the general conduct and character of thoſe vaſt multitudes who, from time to time, have emigrated to the Phillipine iſlands, Batavia, Pulo Pinang and other parts of our Eaſt Indian ſettlements. In thoſe places they are not leſs remarkable for their honeſty, than for their peaceable and induſtrious habits. To the Dutch in Batavia they are maſons,

maſons, carpenters, tailors, ſhoemakers, ſhopkeepers, bankers, and, in ſhort, every thing. Indolence and luxury are there arrived to ſuch a height that, without the aſſiſtance of the Chineſe, the Dutch would literally be in danger of ſtarving. Yet the infamous government of that place, in the year 1741, cauſed to be maſſacred, in cold blood, many thouſands of theſe harmleſs people who offered no reſiſtance; neither women nor children eſcaped the fury of theſe blood-hounds.

In theſe places it appears alſo, that their quickneſs at invention is not ſurpaſſed by accuracy of imitation, for which they have always been accounted remarkably expert in their own country. Man is, by nature, a hoarding animal; and his endeavours to accumulate property will be proportioned to the ſecurity and ſtability which the laws afford for the poſſeſſion and enjoyment of that property. In China, the laws regarding property are inſufficient to give it that ſecurity: hence the talent of invention is there ſeldom exerciſed beyond ſuggeſting the means of providing for the firſt neceſſities and the moſt preſſing wants. A man, indeed, is afraid here to be conſidered as wealthy, well knowing that ſome of the rapacious officers of the ſtate would find legal reaſons to extort his riches from him.

The exterior deportment of every claſs in China is uncommonly decent, and all their manners mild and engaging; but even theſe among perſons of any rank are conſidered as objects worthy the interference of the legiſlature; hence it follows that they are ceremonious without ſincerity, ſtudious of the forms only of politeneſs

without either the eaſe or elegance of good-breeding. An inferior makes a ſham attempt to fall on his knees before his ſuperior, and the latter affects a ſlight motion to raiſe him. A common ſalutation has its mode preſcribed by the court of ceremonies; and any neglect or default in a plebean towards his ſuperior is puniſhable by corporal chaſtiſement, and in men in office by degradation or ſuſpenſion. In making thus the exterior and public manners of the people a concern of the legiſlature, ſociety in many reſpects was conſiderably benefited. Between equals, and among the lower orders of people, abuſive language is very unuſual, and they ſeldom proceed to blows. If a quarrel ſhould be carried to this extremity, the conteſt is rarely attended with more ſerious conſequences than the loſs of the long lock of hair growing from the crown of the head, or the rent of their clothes. The act of drawing a ſword, or preſenting a piſtol, is ſufficient to frighten a common Chineſe into convulſions; and their warriors ſhew but few ſymptoms of bravery. The Chineſe may certainly be conſidered among the moſt timid people on the face of the earth; they ſeem to poſſeſs neither perſonal courage, nor the leaſt preſence of mind in dangers or difficulties; conſequences that are derived probably from the influence of the moral over the phyſical character. Yet there is perhaps no country where acts of ſuicide occur more frequently than in China, among the women as well as the men: ſuch acts being marked with no diſgrace, are not held in any abhorrence. The government, indeed, ſhould ſeem to hold out encouragement to ſuicide, by a very common practice of mitigating the ſentence of death, in allowing the criminal to be his own executioner.

The

The late viceroy of Canton, about two years ago, put an end to his life by ſwallowing his ſtone ſnuff-bottle, which ſtuck in the oeſophagus; and he died in excruciating agonies.

In a government, where every man is liable to be made a ſlave, where every man is ſubject to be flogged with the bamboo at the nod of one of the loweſt rank of thoſe in office, and where he is compelled to kiſs the rod that beats him or, which amounts to the ſame thing, to thank the tyrant on his knees for the trouble he has taken to correct his morals, high notions of honour and dignified ſentiments are not to be expected. Where the maxims of the government commanding, and the opinions of the people agreeing, that corporal puniſhment may be inflicted, on the ground of a favour conferred upon the perſon puniſhed, a principle of humiliation is admitted that is well calculated to exclude and obliterate every notion of the dignity of human nature.

A ſlave, in fact, cannot be diſhonoured. The condition itſelf of being dependent upon and ſubject to the caprice of another, without the privilege of appeal, is ſuch a degraded ſtate of the human ſpecies, that thoſe who are unfortunately reduced to it have no further ignominy or ſenſe of ſhame to undergo. The vices of ſuch a condition are innumerable, and they appear on all occaſions among this people celebrated (rather undeſervedly I think) for their poliſhed manners and civilized government. A Chineſe merchant will cheat, whenever an opportunity offers him the means, becauſe he is conſidered to be

incapable of acting honeſtly; a Chineſe peaſant will ſteal when ever he can do it without danger of being detected, becauſe the puniſhment is only the bamboo, to which he is daily liable; and a Chineſe prince, or a prime miniſter, will extort the property of the ſubject, and apply it to his private uſe, whenever he thinks he can do it with impunity. The only check upon the rapacity of men in power is the influence of fear, ariſing from the poſſibility of detection: the love of honour, the dread of ſhame, and a ſenſe of juſtice, ſeem to be equally unfelt by the majority of men in office.

It would be needleſs to multiply inſtances to thoſe already on record of the refined knavery diſplayed by Chineſe merchants in their dealings with Europeans, or the tricks that they play off in their tranſactions with one another. They are well known to moſt nations, and are proverbial in their own. A merchant with them is conſidered as the loweſt character in the country, as a man that will cheat if he can, and whoſe trade it is to create and then ſupply artificial wants. To this general character, which public opinion has moſt probably made to be what it is, an exception is due to thoſe merchants who, acting under the immediate ſanction of the government, have always been remarked for their liberality and accuracy in their dealings with Europeans trading to Canton. Theſe men who are ſtyled the *Hong* merchants, in diſtinction to a common merchant whom they call *mai-mai-gin, a buying and ſelling man*, might not unjuſtly be compared with the moſt eminent of the mercantile claſs in England.

But

But as traders in general are degraded in all the ſtate maxims, and conſequently in public opinion, it is not ſurpriſing they ſhould attach ſo little reſpect to the character of foreign merchants trading to their ports, eſpecially as ſeveral knaviſh tricks have been practiſed upon them, in ſpite of all their acuteneſs and precaution. The gaudy watches of indifferent workmanſhip, fabricated purpoſely for the China market and once in univerſal demand, are now ſcarcely aſked for. One gentleman in the Honourable Eaſt India Company's employ took it into his head that cuckoo clocks might prove a ſaleable article in China, and accordingly laid in a large aſſortment, which more than anſwered his moſt ſanguine expectations. But as theſe wooden machines were conſtructed for ſale only, and not for uſe, the cuckoo clocks became all mute long before the ſecond arrival of this gentleman with another cargo. His clocks were now not only unſaleable, but the former purchaſers threatened to return theirs upon his hands, which would certainly have been done, had not a thought entered his head, that not only pacified his former cuſtomers but procured him alſo other purchaſers for his ſecond cargo: he convinced them by undeniable authorities, that the cuckoo was a very odd kind of bird which ſung only at certain ſeaſons of the year, and aſſured them that whenever the proper time arrived, all the cuckoos they had purchaſed would once again "tune their melodious throats." After this it would only be fair to allow the Chineſe ſometimes to trick the European purchaſer with a wooden ham inſtead of a real one.

But as ſomething more honourable might be expected in a prince of the blood, a grandſon of the Emperor, I ſhall juſt mention

mention one anecdote that happened during my abode in the palace of *Yuen-min-yuen*. This gentleman, then about five-and-twenty years of age, having no oſtenſible employment, came almoſt daily to the hall of audience, where we were arranging the preſents for the Emperor. He had frequently deſired to look at a gold time-piece which I wore in my pocket: one morning I received a meſſage from him, by one of the miſſionaries, to know if I would ſell it and for what price. I explained to the miſſionary that, being a preſent from a friend and a token of remembrance, I could not willingly part with it, but that I would endeavour to procure him one equally good from our artificers who I thought had ſuch articles for ſale. I ſoon diſcovered, however, that his Royal Highneſs had already been with theſe people, but did not like their prices. The following morning a ſecond miſſionary came to me, bringing a preſent from the prince conſiſting of about half a pound of common tea, a ſilk purſe, and a few trumpery trinkets, hinting at the ſame time, that he was expected to carry back the watch in return as an equivalent. I requeſted the miſſionary immediately to take back the princely preſent, which he did with conſiderable reluctance, dreading his Highneſs's diſpleaſure. The poor fellow happened to have a gold watch about him, which he was deſired to ſhew; and the ſame day he had a viſit from one of the prince's domeſtics to ſay, that his maſter would do him the honour to accept his watch; which he was not only under the neceſſity of ſending, but was obliged to thank him, on his knees, for this extraordinary mark of diſtinction. He told me, moreover, that this ſame gentleman had at leaſt a dozen watches which had been procured in the ſame honourable way.

In

In the liſt of preſents carried by the late Dutch Embaſſador were two grand pieces of machinery, that formerly were a part of the curious muſeum of the ingenious Mr. Coxe. In the courſe of the long journey from Canton to Pekin they had ſuffered ſome ſlight damage. On leaving the capital they diſcovered, through one of the miſſionaries, that while theſe pieces were under repair, the prime miniſter *Ho-tchang-tong* had ſubſtituted two others of a very inferior and common ſort to complete the liſt, reſerving the two grand pieces of clockwork for himſelf, which, at ſome future period, he would, perhaps, take the merit of preſenting to the Emperor in his own name.

Theſe examples but too clearly illuſtrate the great defect in the boaſted moral character of the Chineſe. But the fault, as I before obſerved, ſeems to be more in the ſyſtem of government than in the nature and diſpoſition of the people. The acceſſion of a foreign power to the throne, by adopting the language, the laws, and the cuſtoms of the conquered, has preſerved with the forms all the abuſes of the ancient government. The character of the governors may differ a little, but that of the governed remains unchanged. The Tartars, by aſſuming the dreſs, the manners, and the habits of the Chineſe, by being originally deſcended from the ſame ſtock, and by a great reſemblance of features, are ſcarcely diſtinguiſhable from them in their external appearance. And if any phyſical difference exiſt, it ſeems to be in ſtature only, which may have ariſen from local cauſes. The Chineſe are rather taller, and of a more ſlender and delicate form than the Tartars, who are in general

ſhort, thick, and robuſt. The ſmall eye, elliptical at the end next to the noſe, is a predominating feature in the caſt of both the Tartar and the Chineſe countenance, and they have both the ſame high cheek bones and pointed chins, which, with the cuſtom of ſhaving off the hair, gives to the head the ſhape of an inverted cone, remarkable enough in ſome ſubjects, but neither ſo general, nor ſo ſingular, as to warrant their being conſidered among the *monſters* in nature, *Homo monſtroſus, macrocephalus, capite conico, Chinenſis* *. The head of our worthy conductor *Van-ta-gin*, who was a real Chineſe, had nothing in its ſhape different from that of an European, except the eye. The portrait of this gentleman, drawn by Mr. Hickey, is ſo ſtrong a likeneſs, and he was deſervedly ſo great a favourite of every Engliſhman in the train of the Britiſh Embaſſador, that I am happy in having an opportunity of placing it at the head of this work.

The natural colour both of the Chineſe and Tartars ſeems to be that tint between a fair and dark complexion, which we diſtinguiſh by the word *brunet* or *brunette*; and the ſhades of this complexion are deeper, or lighter, according as they have been more or leſs expoſed to the influence of the climate. The women of the lower claſs, who labour in the fields or who dwell in veſſels, are almoſt invariably coarſe, ill-featured, and of a deep brown complexion, like that of the Hottentot. But this we find to be the caſe among the poor of almoſt every nation. Hard labour, ſcanty fare, and early and frequent parturi-

* Linn. Syſtema Naturæ.

tion,

tion, ſoon wither the delicate buds of beauty. The ſprightlineſs and expreſſion of the features, as well as the colour of the ſkin, which diſtinguiſh the higher ranks from the vulgar, are the effects of eaſe and education. We ſaw women in China, though very few, that might paſs for beauties even in Europe. The Malay features however prevail in moſt; a ſmall black or dark brown eye, a ſhort rounded noſe, generally a little flattened, lips conſiderably thicker than in Europeans, and black hair, are univerſal.

The Man-tchoo Tartars would appear to be compoſed of a mixed race: among theſe we obſerved ſeveral, both men and women, that were extremely fair and of florid complexions: ſome had light blue eyes, ſtreight or aquiline noſes, brown hair, immenſe buſhy beards, and had much more the appearance of Greeks than of Tartars. It is certainly not improbable that the Greeks of Sogdiana, whoſe deſcendants muſt have blended with the weſtern Tartars and with whom the Man-tchoos were connected, may have communicated this caſt of countenance. *Tchien-Lung*, whoſe noſe was ſomewhat aquiline and complexion florid, uſed to boaſt of his deſcent from *Gengis-khan*: theſe, however, are exceptions to the general character, which is evidently the ſame as that of the Chineſe.

But although their appearance and manners are externally the ſame, a cloſer acquaintance ſoon diſcovers that in diſpoſition they are widely different. Thoſe who are better pleaſed with a blunt ſincerity bordering on rudeneſs than a ſtudied complaiſance approaching to ſervility; who may think it better to be

robbed openly than cheated civilly, will be apt to give the preference to the Tartar character. Yet thoſe Tartars of diſtinction, who fill ſome of the higher ſituations in the ſtate, ſoon looſe their native roughneſs and are ſcarcely diſtinguiſhable in their manners and demeanour from the Chineſe.

The eaſe, politeneſs, and dignified carriage of the old viceroy of *Pe-tche-lee*, who was a Man-tchoo, could not be exceeded by the moſt practiſed courtier in modern Europe: the attention he ſhewed to every thing that concerned the embaſſy, the unaffected manner in which he received and entertained us at *Tien-ſing*; the kindneſs and condeſcenſion with which he gave his orders to the inferior officers and to his domeſtics, placed him in a very amiable point of view. He was a very fine old man of ſeventy-eight years of age, of low ſtature, with ſmall ſparkling eyes, a benign aſpect, a long ſilver beard, and the whole of his appearance calm, venerable, and dignified. The manners of *Sun-ta-gin*, a relation of the Emperor and one of the ſix miniſters of ſtate, were no leſs dignified, eaſy, and engaging; and *Chung-ta-gin*, the new viceroy of Canton, was a plain, unaſſuming, and good-natured man. The prime miniſter *Ho-chang-tong*, the little Tartar legate, and the ex-viceroy of Canton, were the only perſons of rank among the many we had occaſion to converſe with that diſcovered the leaſt ill-humour, diſtant hauteur, and want of complaiſance. All the reſt with whom we had any concern, whether Tartars or Chineſe, when in our private ſociety, were eaſy, affable, and familiar, extremely good-humoured, loquacious, communicative. It was in public only, and towards each other, that they aſſumed their ceremonious gravity,

gravity, and practiſed all the tricks of demeanour which cuſtom requires of them.

The general character, however, of the nation is a ſtrange compound of pride and meanneſs, of affected gravity and real frivolouſneſs, of refined civility and groſs indelicacy. With an appearance of great ſimplicity and openneſs in converſation, they practiſe a degree of art and cunning againſt which an European is but ill prepared. Their manner of introducing the ſubject of the court ceremonies in converſation with the Embaſſador is no bad ſpecimen of their ſly addreſs in managing matters of this ſort. Some of them obſerved, by mere accident as it were, how curious it was to ſee the different modes of dreſs that prevailed among different nations: this naturally brought on a compariſon between theirs and ours, the latter of which they pretended to examine with critical attention. After a good deal of circumlocutory obſervations, they thought their own entitled to the preference, being more convenient, on account of its being made wide and looſe and free from tight ligatures; whereas ours muſt be exceedingly uneaſy and troubleſome in any other poſture than that of ſtanding upright; and particularly ſo in making the genuflections and proſtrations which were cuſtomary and indeed neceſſary to be performed by all perſons whenever the Emperor appeared in public. No notice being taken of this broad hint, ſo artfully introduced, they proceeded to compare their wide petticoats with our breeches, and to contraſt the play and freedom of their knee-joints with the obſtruction that our knee-buckles and garters muſt neceſſarily occaſion. This brought them directly to the point, and they finiſhed by

recommending, in the warmth of their friendſhip, that we ſhould diſencumber ourſelves of our breeches, as they would certainly be inconvenient to appear in at court.

Of perſeverance in negociation, or more properly ſpeaking, *in driving a bargain*, the Tartar legate gave no bad ſpecimen of his talent. Having in vain practiſed every art to obtain from the Embaſſador an unconditional compliance with the court ceremony, he was ſent at length by the Prime Miniſter to inform him, that the important point was finally decided and that the Engliſh mode was to be adopted; but, he obſerved, that as it was not the cuſtom of China to kiſs the Emperor's hand, he had ſomething to propoſe to which there could be no objection, and which was that, in lieu of that part of the Engliſh ceremony, he ſhould put the ſecond knee upon the ground and, inſtead of bending one knee, to kneel on both. In fact, they negociate on the moſt trifling point with as much caution and preciſeneſs, as if they were forming a treaty of peace, and with more addreſs than ſome treaties of peace have been negociated.

As a direct refuſal to any requeſt would betray a want of good breeding, every propoſal finds their immediate acquieſcence; they promiſe without heſitation, but generally diſappoint by the invention of ſome fly pretence or plauſible objection. They have no proper ſenſe of the obligations of truth. So little ſcrupulous indeed are they with regard to veracity, that they will aſſert and contradict without bluſhing, as it may beſt ſuit the purpoſe of the moment.

The

The vanity of an uſurped national ſuperiority and a high notion of ſelf-importance never forſake them on any occaſion. Thoſe advantages in others which they cannot avoid feeling, they will affect not to ſee. And although they are reduced to the neceſſity of employing foreigners to regulate their calendar and keep their clocks in order, although they are in the habit of receiving yearly various ſpecimens of art and ingenuity from Europe, yet they pertinaciouſly affect to conſider all the nations of the earth as barbarians in compariſon of themſelves. A Chineſe merchant of Canton, who, from the frequent opportunities of ſeeing Engliſh ſhips, was not inſenſible of their advantages over thoſe of his own nation which traded to Batavia and other diſtant ports, reſolved, and actually began, to conſtruct a veſſel according to an Engliſh model; but the *Hoopoo* or collector of the cuſtoms being apprized of it, not only obliged him to relinquiſh his project but fined him in a heavy penalty for preſuming to adopt the modes of a barbarous nation. So great is their national conceit that not a ſingle article imported into the country, as I have elſewhere obſerved, retains its name. Not a nation, nor perſon, nor object, that does not receive a Chineſe appellation: ſo that their language, though poor, is pure.

The expreſſions made uſe of in ſalutation, by different nations, may perhaps be conſidered as deriving their origin from features of national character. *Lau-ye, Old ſir*, is a title of reſpect, with which the firſt officers of ſtate may be addreſſed, becauſe the maxims of government have inculcated the doctrine of obedience, reſpect, and protection to old age. The common ſalutation among the lower orders of people in ſome of the

ſouthern provinces is *Ya fan, Have you eaten your rice?* the greateſt happineſs that the common claſs of people in China can hope to enjoy conſiſting in their having a ſufficiency of rice. Thus alſo the Dutch, who are conſidered as great eaters, have a morning ſalutation which is common among all ranks, *Smaakelyk eeten! May you eat a hearty dinner!* Another univerſal ſalutation among this people is, *Hoe vaart uwe? How do you ſail?* adopted no doubt in the early periods of the Republic, when they were all navigators and fiſhermen. The uſual ſalutation at Cairo is, How do you ſweat? a dry hot ſkin being a ſure indication of a deſtructive ephemeral fever. I think ſome author has obſerved, in contraſting the haughty Spaniard with the frivolous Frenchman, that the proud ſteady gait and inflexible ſolemnity of the former were expreſſed in his mode of ſalutation, *Come eſta? How do you ſtand?* whilſt the *Comment vous portez vous? How do you carry yourſelf?* was equally expreſſive of the gay motion and inceſſant action of the latter.

The Chineſe are ſo ceremonious among themſelves, and ſo punctilious with regard to etiquette, that the omiſſion of the moſt minute point eſtabliſhed by the court of ceremonies is conſidered as a criminal offence. Viſiting by tickets, which with us is a faſhion of modern refinement, has been a common practice in China ſome thouſand years; but the rank of a Chineſe viſitor is immediately aſcertained by the ſize, colour, and ornaments of his ticket, which alſo varies in all theſe points according to the rank of the perſon viſited. The old Viceroy of *Pe-tche-lee's* ticket to the Embaſſador contained as much crimſon-coloured paper as would be ſufficient to cover the walls of a moderate-ſized room.

CHAP. V.

Manners and Amuſements of the Court—Reception of Embaſſadors—Character and private Life of the Emperor—His Eunuchs and Women.

General Character of the Court—Of the Buildings about the Palace—Lord Macartney's *Account of his Introduction—Of the Celebration of the Emperor's Anniverſary Feſtival—Of a Puppet-Shew—Comedy and Pantomime—Wreſtling—Conjuring and Fire-Works—Reception and Entertainment of the Dutch Embaſſadors from a Manuſcript Journal—Obſervations on the State of the Chineſe Stage—Extraordinary Scene in one of their Dramas—Groſs and indelicate Exhibitions—Sketch of* Kien-Long's *Life and Character—Kills his Son by an unlucky Blow—conceives himſelf immortal—Influence of the Eunuchs at the Tartar Conqueſt—their preſent State and Offices—Emperor's Wife, Queens, and Concubines—How diſpoſed of at his Death.*

AFTER the ſketch I have exhibited of the ſtate of ſociety among the different ranks in China, a tolerable notion may be formed of the general character and complexion of the court. It is, as Lord Macartney has juſtly obſerved, "a ſingular mixture "of oſtentatious hoſpitality and inbred ſuſpicion, ceremonious "civility and real rudeneſs, ſhadowy complaiſance and ſubſtan- "tial perverſeneſs; and this prevails through all the depart- "ments connected with the Court, although ſomewhat modi- "fied by the perſonal diſpoſition of thoſe at their head; but as

"to

" to that genuine politeneſs, which diſtinguiſhes our manners, it " cannot be expected in Orientals, conſidering among other " things the light in which they are accuſtomed to regard the " female part of ſociety." Whether the great miniſters of ſtate, who have daily intercourſe in the different tribunals, ſometimes relax from the ſtiff and formal deportment obſerved towards each other in public, I am not able to ſay, but when at Court they invariably obſerve certain ſtated forms and expreſſions as ſtudied and ceremonious as if they had never met before. It appeared to us highly ridiculous to ſee our friends, the two colleagues *Van-ta-gin* and *Chou-ta-gin*, on meeting in the precincts of the palace, performing to each other all the genuflexions and motions of the body which the ceremonial inſtitutes of the empire require.

I rather ſuſpect, however, that where any degree of confidence prevails among theſe people they ſometimes enjoy their moments of conviviality. Our two worthy conductors met at Canton an old acquaintance who was governor of a city in Fokien. He gave them an evening entertainment on the river in a ſplendid yacht to which I was privately invited. On entering the great cabin I found the three gentlemen with each a young girl by his ſide very richly dreſſed, the cheeks, lips, and chin highly *rouged*, the reſt of the face and neck whitened with a preparation of cerate. I was welcomed by a cup of hot wine from each of the ladies who firſt ſipped by way of pledging me. During ſupper, which for number and variety of diſhes exceeded any thing I had hitherto met with in the country, the girls played on the flute and ſung ſeveral airs, but there was nothing

thing very captivating either in the vocal or inſtrumental part of the muſic. We paſſed a moſt convivial evening free from any reſerve or reſtraint, but on going away I was particularly deſired by *Van* not to take any notice of what I had ſeen, apprehenſive, I ſuppoſe, that their brother officers might condemn their want of prudence in admitting a barbarian to witneſs their relaxation from good morals. The yacht and the ladies it ſeemed were hired for the occaſion.

The incalculable numbers of the great officers of ſtate and their attendants, all robed in the richeſt ſilks, embroidered with the moſt brilliant colours, and tiſſued with gold and ſilver, the order, ſilence, and ſolemnity with which they arrange and conduct themſelves on public court-days are the moſt commanding features on ſuch occaſions.

This ſober pomp of Aſiatic grandeur is exhibited only at certain fixed feſtivals; of which the principal is the anniverſary of the Emperor's birth-day, the commencement of a new year, the ceremonial of holding the plough, and the reception of foreign embaſſadors, moſt of whom they contrive to be preſent at one or other of theſe feſtivals. The birth-day is conſidered to be the moſt ſplendid; when all the Tartar princes and tributuaries, and all the principal officers of government both civil and military, are expected to be preſent.

For reaſons of ſtate, which will be noticed hereafter, the Emperor rarely ſhews himſelf in public among the Chineſe part

of his ſubjects, except on ſuch occaſions; and even then the exhibition is confined within the precincts of the palace from which the populace are entirely excluded. Conſiſtent with their ſyſtem of ſumptuary laws there is little external appearance of pomp or magnificence in the eſtabliſhment of the Emperor. The buildings that compoſe the palace and the furniture within them, if we except the paint, the gilding, and the varniſh, that appear on the houſes even of plebeians, are equally void of unneceſſary and expenſive ornaments. Thoſe who ſhould rely on the florid relations, in which the miſſionaries and ſome travellers have indulged in their deſcriptions of the palaces of Pekin and thoſe of *Yuen-min-yuen*, would experience on viſiting them a woful diſappointment. Theſe buildings, like the common habitations of the country, are all modelled after the form of a tent, and are magnificent only by a compariſon with the others and by their number, which is ſufficient, indeed, to form a town of themſelves. Their walls are higher than thoſe of ordinary houſes, their wooden columns of greater diameter, their roofs are immenſe, and a greater variety of painting and gilding may be beſtowed on the different parts; but none of them exceeds one ſtory in height, and they are jumbled and ſurrounded with mean and inſignificant hovels. Some writer has obſerved that the King of England is worſe lodged at Saint James's palace than any ſovereign in Europe. Were I to compare ſome of the imperial palaces in China to any royal reſidence in Europe it would certainly be to Saint James's; but the apartments, the furniture, and conveniences of the latter, bad as they are, infinitely tranſcend any of thoſe in China. The ſtone or clay floors are indeed ſometimes covered with a carpet

carpet of Engliſh broad-cloth, and the walls papered; but they have no glaſs in the windows, no ſtoves, fire-places, or fire-grates in the rooms; no ſofas, bureaux, chandeliers, nor looking-glaſſes; no book-caſes, prints, nor paintings. They have neither curtains nor ſheets to their beds; a bench of wood, or a platform of brick-work, is raiſed in an alcove, on which are mats or ſtuffed matreſſes, hard pillows, or cuſhions, according to the ſeaſon of the year; inſtead of doors they have uſually ſkreens, made of the fibres of bamboo. In ſhort, the wretched lodgings of the ſtate-officers at the court of Verſailles, in the time of the French monarchy, were princely palaces in compariſon of thoſe allotted to the firſt miniſters of the Emperor of China, in the capital as well as at *Yuen-min-yuen*.

When attending the court, on public occaſions, each courtier takes his meal alone in his ſolitary cell on a ſmall ſquare table crowded with bowls of rice and various ſtews; without table-linen or napkins, without knife, fork, or ſpoon; a pair of ſmall ſticks, or the quills of a porcupine, are the only ſubſtitutes for theſe convenient articles: placing the bowl under his chin, with theſe he throws the rice into his mouth and takes up the pieces of meat in his ſoup or ſtews. Having finiſhed his lonely meal, he generally lies down to ſleep. In a government ſo ſuſpicious as that of China, if parties were known to meet together, the object of them might be ſuppoſed ſomething beyond that of conviviality, which however mutual jealouſy and diſtruſt have prevented from growing into common uſe.

As the ready compliance of the late Dutch Embaſſadors with all the degrading ceremonies required by the Chineſe, added to

their conſtant reſidence in the capital, gave them more opportunities of obſerving the manners and the amuſements of the court than occurred to the Britiſh embaſſy, I ſhall here avail myſelf of that part of a journal relating to this ſubject, which was kept by a young gentleman in the ſuite of the former, and whoſe accuracy of obſervation may be depended on. The account given by him of the New Year's feſtival, added to Lord Macartney's deſcription of his introduction and the birth-day ſolemnities, which his Lordſhip has obligingly permitted me to extract from his journal, together with my own obſervations at the palace of *Yuen-min-yuen*, will ſerve to convey a tolerably exact idea of the ſtate, pleaſures, and amuſements of the great Monarch of China.

" On the 14th September," obſerves his Lordſhip, " at four " o'clock in the morning we ſet out for the court, under the " convoy of *Van-ta-gin*, and *Chou-ta-gin*, and reached it in little " more than an hour, the diſtance being about three miles " from our hotel. We alighted at the park-gate, from whence " we walked to the Imperial encampment, and were conducted " to a large handſome tent prepared for us, on one ſide of the " Emperor's. After waiting there about an hour, his ap- " proach was announced by drums and muſic, on which we " quitted our tent and came forward upon the green carpet. " He was ſeated in an open Palankeen, carried by ſixteen " bearers, attended by numbers of officers bearing flags, ſtan- " dards, and umbrellas; and as he paſſed, we paid him our " compliments, by kneeling on one knee, whilſt all the Chi- " neſe made their uſual proſtrations. As ſoon as he had " aſcended his throne I came to the entrance of his tent, and " holding

" holding in both my hands a large gold box, enriched with " diamonds, in which was encloſed the King's letter, I walked " deliberately up and, aſcending the ſteps of the throne, deli- " vered it into the Emperor's own hands, who, having re- " ceived it, paſſed it to the Miniſter by whom it was placed " on the cuſhion. He then gave me, as the firſt preſent from " him to his Majeſty, the *Eu-ſhee*, or ſymbol of peace and " proſperity, and expreſſed his hopes that my Sovereign and " he ſhould always live in good correſpondence and amity. " It is a whitiſh agate-looking ſtone, perhaps ſerpentine, about " a foot and a half long, curiouſly carved, and highly prized " by the Chineſe; but to me it does not appear in itſelf to be " of any great value.

" The Emperor then preſented me with an *Eu-ſhee* of a " greeniſh-coloured ſerpentine ſtone, and of the ſame emble- " matic character; at the ſame time he very graciouſly " received from me a pair of beautiful enamelled watches, ſet " with diamonds which, having looked at, he paſſed to the " Miniſter.

" Sir George Staunton (whom, as he had been appointed " Miniſter plenipotentiary, to act in caſe of my death or de- " parture, I introduced to him as ſuch) now came forward, and " after kneeling upon one knee, in the ſame manner as I had " done, preſented to him two elegant air-guns, and received from " him an *Eu-ſhee* of greeniſh ſtone nearly ſimilar to mine. " Other preſents were ſent, at the ſame time, to all the gentle- " men of my train. We then deſcended from the ſteps of the

" throne, and ſat down upon cuſhions at one of the tables on " the Emperor's left hand. And at other tables, according to " their different ranks, the chief Tartar princes and the Man- " darins of the court at the ſame time took their places; all " dreſſed in the proper robes of their reſpective ranks. Theſe " tables were then uncovered and exhibited a ſumptuous " banquet. The Emperor ſent us ſeveral diſhes from his own " table, together with ſome liquors, which the Chineſe call " wine; not however expreſſed from the grape, but diſtilled " or extracted from rice, herbs, and honey.

" In about half an hour he ſent for Sir George Staunton and " me to come to him and gave to each of us, with his own " hands, a cup of warm wine, which we immediately drank " in his preſence, and found it very pleaſant and comfortable, " the morning being cold and raw. Among other things he " aſked me the age of my Sovereign and, being informed " of it, ſaid he hoped he might live as many years as himſelf " which were then eighty-three. His manner was dignified, " but affable and condeſcending; and his reception of us was " very gracious and ſatisfactory.

" The order and regularity in ſerving and removing the " dinner was wonderfully exact, and every function of the " ceremony performed with ſuch ſilence and ſolemnity as " in ſome meaſure to reſemble the celebration of a religious " myſtery.

" There were preſent on this occaſion three Embaſſadors " from *Ta-tze* or Pegu, and ſix Mahomedan Embaſſadors " from

" from the Kalmucs of the ſouth-weſt, but their appearance " was not very ſplendid. During the ceremony, which laſted " five hours, various entertainments of wreſtling, tumbling, " wire-dancing, together with dramatic repreſentations, were " exhibited oppoſite the Emperor's tent, but at a conſiderable " diſtance from it.

" The 17th of September, being the Emperor's birth day, " we ſet out for the court at three o'clock in the morning, " conducted by *Van-ta-gin*, *Chou-ta-gin*, and our uſual at- " tendants. We repoſed ourſelves about two hours in a large " ſaloon at the entrance of the palace encloſure, where fruit, " tea, warm milk, and other refreſhments were brought to us. " At laſt notice was given that the feſtival was going to begin, " and we immediately deſcended into the garden, where we " found all the great men and mandarins in their robes of " ſtate, drawn up before the Imperial pavilion. The Em- " peror did not ſhew himſelf, but remained concealed " behind a ſcreen, from whence I preſume he could ſee and " enjoy the ceremonies without inconvenience or interruption. " All eyes were turned towards the place where his Majeſty " was imagined to be enthroned, and ſeemed to expreſs an " impatience to begin the devotions of the day. Slow, ſolemn " muſic, muffled drums, and deep-toned bells, were heard at " a diſtance;—on a ſudden the ſounds ceaſed, and all was " ſtill—again they were renewed, and then intermitted with " ſhort pauſes; during which ſeveral perſons paſſed backwards " and forwards, in the proſcenium or foreground of the tent, " as if engaged in preparing ſome *grand coup-de-theatre*.

" At

" At length the great band, both vocal and inſtrumental, " ſtruck up with all their powers of harmony, and inſtantly " the whole court fell flat upon their faces before this inviſible " Nebuchadnezzar, whilſt

" He in his cloudy tabernacle ſhrined
" Sojourned the while."

" The muſic might be conſidered as a ſort of birth-day ode, or " ſtate anthem, the burthen of which was, ' *Bow down your* " *heads all ye dwellers upon earth, bow down your heads before* " *the great Kien-long, the great Kien-long.*' And then all the " dwellers upon China earth there preſent, except ourſelves, " bowed down their heads and proſtrated themſelves up- " on the ground at every renewal of the chorus. Indeed, " in no religion either ancient or modern has the divinity ever " been addreſſed, I believe, with ſtronger exterior marks of " worſhip and adoration than were this morning paid to the " phantom of his Chineſe majeſty. Such is the mode of cele- " brating the Emperor's anniverſary feſtival, according to the " court ritual. We ſaw nothing of him the whole day, " nor did any of his miniſters, I imagine, approach him, " for they all ſeemed to retire at the ſame moment that we " did.

" In the courſe of a tour we made in the gardens with the " prime miniſter and other great officers of ſtate, whom the " Emperor had directed to attend us, we were entertained at " one of the palaces with a collation of petitpatis, ſalt reliſhes, " and other ſavoury diſhes, with fruits and ſweetmeats, milk

" and

" and ice-water; and as ſoon as we roſe from table, a number " of yellow boxes, or drawers, were carried in proceſſion be- " fore us, containing ſeveral pieces of ſilk and porcelain, which " we were told were preſents to us from the Emperor, and we " conſequently made our bows as they paſſed. We were alſo " amuſed with a Chineſe puppet-ſhew which differs but little " from an Engliſh one. There are a diſtreſſed princeſs con- " fined in a caſtle, and a knight-errant, who, after fighting wild " beaſts and dragons, ſets her at liberty and marries her; " wedding-feaſts, juſts, and tournaments. Beſides theſe, there " was alſo a comic drama, in which ſome perſonages not un- " like punch and his wife, Bandemeer and Scaramouch per- " formed capital parts. This puppet-ſhew, we were told, pro- " perly belongs to the ladies' apartments, but was ſent out as " a particular compliment to entertain us; one of the perform- " ances was exhibited with great applauſe from our conductors, " and I underſtand it is a favourite piece at court.

" On the morning of the 18th September we again went to " court, in conſequence of an invitation from the Emperor, to " ſee the Chineſe comedy and other diverſions given on oc- " caſion of his birth-day. The comedy began at eight o'clock " and laſted till noon. The Emperor was ſeated on a throne, " oppoſite the ſtage, which projected a good deal into the " pit. The boxes were on each ſide without ſeats or divi- " ſions. The women were placed above, behind the lattices, " ſo that they might enjoy the amuſements of the theatre with- " out being obſerved.

" Soon after we came in, the Emperor ſent for Sir George " Staunton and me to attend him, and told us, with great " condeſcenſion of manner, that we ought not to be ſurprized " to ſee a man of his age at the theatre, for that he ſeldom " came there except upon a very particular occaſion like the " preſent, for that, conſidering the extent of his dominions " and the number of his ſubjects, he could ſpare but little time " for ſuch amuſements. I endeavoured, in the turn of my " anſwer, to lead him towards the ſubject of my embaſſy, but " he ſeemed not diſpoſed to enter into it farther than by deli- " vering me a little box of old japan, in the bottom of which " were ſome pieces of agate and other ſtones much valued by " the Chineſe and Tartars; and at the top a ſmall book written " and painted by his own hand, which he deſired me to pre- " ſent to the king my maſter as a token of his friendſhip " ſaying, that the old box had been 800 years in his family. He, " at the ſame time, gave me a book for myſelf alſo written and " painted by him, together with ſeveral purſes for Areca nut. He " likewiſe gave a purſe of the ſame ſort to Sir George Staunton, " and ſent ſome ſmall preſents to the other gentlemen of the " embaſſy. After this ſeveral pieces of ſilk or porcelain, but " ſeemingly of no great value, were diſtributed among the Tar- " tar princes and chief courtiers, who appeared to receive them " with every poſſible demonſtration of humility and gra- " titude.

" The theatrical entertainments conſiſted of great variety, both " tragical and comical; ſeveral diſtinct pieces were acted in ſuc- " ceſſion, though without any apparent connexion with one an- " other.

" other. Some of them were hiſtorical, and others of pure " fancy, partly in *recitativo*, partly in ſinging, and partly in " plain ſpeaking, without any accompaniment of inſtrumental " muſic, but abounding in battles, murders, and moſt of the " uſual incidents of the drama. Laſt of all was the grand pan- " tomime which, from the approbation it met with, is, I pre- " ſume, conſidered as a firſt-rate effort of invention and inge- " nuity. It ſeemed to me, as far as I could comprehend it, " to repreſent the marriage of the ocean and the earth. The " latter exhibited her various riches and productions, dragons, " and elephants, and tygers, and eagles, and oſtriches, oaks " and pines, and other trees of different kinds. The ocean " was not behind hand, but poured forth on the ſtage the " wealth of his dominions, under the figures of whales and " dolphins, porpeſſes and leviathans, and other ſea monſters, " beſides ſhips, rocks, ſhells, ſpunges, and corals, all performed " by concealed actors, who were quite perfect in their parts, " and performed their characters to admiration. Theſe two " marine and land regiments, after ſeparately parading in a cir- " cular proceſſion for a conſiderable time, at laſt joined to- " gether and, forming one body, came to the front of the ſtage " when, after a few evolutions, they opened to the right and " left, to give room for the whale, who ſeemed to be the com- " manding officer, to waddle forward; and who, taking his " ſtation exactly oppoſite to the Emperor's box, ſpouted out of " his mouth into the pit ſeveral tons of water, which quickly " diſappeared through the perforations of the floor. This eja- " culation was received with the higheſt applauſe, and two or " three of the great men at my elbow deſired me to take par-

" ticular notice of it; repeating, at the ſame time, ' *Hao, kung*
" *hao!*'—' *charming, delightful!*'

" A little before one o'clock in the afternoon we retired, and
" at four we returned to court to ſee the evening's entertain-
" ments, which were exhibited on the lawn, in front of the
" great tent or pavilion, where we had been firſt preſented to
" the Emperor. He arrived very ſoon after us, mounted his
" throne, and gave the ſignal to begin. We had now wreſt-
" ling and dancing, and tumbling and poſture making, which
" appeared to us particularly awkward and clumſy, from the
" performers being moſtly dreſſed according to the Chineſe
" *coſtume*, one inſeparable part of which is a pair of heavy
" quilted boots with the ſoles of an inch thick. The wreſtlers,
" however, ſeemed to be pretty expert and afforded much di-
" verſion to ſuch as were admirers of the *Palæſtra*.

" A boy climbed up a pole or bamboo thirty or forty feet
" high, played ſeveral gambols, and balanced himſelf on the
" top of it in various attitudes, but his performance fell far
" ſhort of what I have often met with in India of the ſame
" kind.

" A fellow lay down on his back, and then raiſed his feet,
" legs, and thighs from his middle, perpendicularly, ſo as
" to form a right angle with his body. On the ſoles of his
" feet was placed a large round empty jar, about four feet long
" and from two and a half to three feet diameter. This he ba-
" lanced for ſome time, turning it round and round horizon-

" tally, till one of the ſpectators put a little boy into it, who, " after throwing himſelf into various poſtures at the mouth of " it, came out and ſat on the top. He then ſtood up, then " fell flat upon his back, then ſhifted to his belly, and after " ſhewing a hundred tricks of that ſort, jumped down upon " the ground and relieved his coadjutor.

" A man then came forward and after faſtening three ſlen- " der ſticks to each of his boots took ſix porcelain diſhes of " about eighteen inches diameter, and balancing them ſeparate- " ly at the end of a little ivory rod, which he held in his " hand, and twirling them about for ſome time, put them one " after the other upon the points of the ſix bootſticks above- " mentioned, they continuing to turn round all the while. He " then took two ſmall ſticks in his left hand, and put diſhes " upon them in the ſame manner as upon the other, and alſo " one more upon the little finger of his right hand, ſo that he " had nine diſhes annexed to him at once, all twirling together, " which in a few minutes he took off one by one and placed " them regularly on the ground, without the ſlighteſt inter- " ruption or miſcarriage.

" There were many other things of the ſame kind, but I " ſaw none at all comparable to the tumbling, rope-danc- " ing, wire-walking, and ſtraw-balancing of Sadler's-Wells; " neither did I obſerve any feats of equitation in the ſtyle of " Hughes's and Aſhley's amphitheatres, although I had been " always told that the Tartars were remarkably ſkilful in the " inſtruction and diſcipline of their horſes. Laſt of all were

" the

" the fireworks which, in ſome particulars, exceeded any " thing of the kind I had ever ſeen. In grandeur, magnifi- " cence, and variety, they were, I own, inferior to the Chi- " neſe fireworks we had ſeen at Batavia, but infinitely ſuperior " in point of novelty, neatneſs, and ingenuity of contrivance. " One piece of machinery I greatly admired; a green cheſt of " five feet ſquare was hoiſted up by a pulley to the height of " fifty or ſixty feet from the ground; the bottom was ſo con- " ſtructed as then ſuddenly to fall out, and make way for twenty " or thirty ſtrings of lanterns incloſed in the box to deſcend " from it, unfolding themſelves from one another by degrees " ſo as at laſt to form a collection of at leaſt five hundred, each " having a light of a beautifully coloured flame burning brightly " within it. This devolution and developement of lanterns " (which appeared to me to be compoſed of gauze and paper) " were ſeveral times repeated, and every time exhibited a dif- " ference of colour and figure. On each ſide was a correſpon- " dence of ſmaller boxes, which opened in like manner as the " others, and let down an immenſe network of fire, with divi- " viſions and copartments of various forms and dimenſions, " round and ſquare, hexagons, octagons and lozenges, which " ſhone like the brighteſt burniſhed copper, and flaſhed like " priſmatic lightning, with every impulſe of the wind. The " diverſity of colours indeed with which the Chineſe have the " ſecret of cloathing fire ſeems one of the chief merits of their " pyrotechny. The whole concluded with a volcano, or ge- " neral exploſion and diſcharge of ſuns and ſtars, ſquibs, boun- " cers, crackers, rockets, and grenadoes, which involved the " gardens for above an hour after in a cloud of intolerable " ſmoke:

" ſmoke. Whilſt theſe entertainments were going forward the " Emperor ſent to us a variety of refreſhments, all which, " as coming from him, the etiquette of the court required us " to partake of, although we had dined but a ſhort time " before.

" However meanly we muſt think of the taſte and delicacy " of the court of China, whoſe moſt refined amuſements ſeem " to be chiefly ſuch as I have now deſcribed, together with the " wretched dramas of the morning, yet it muſt be confeſſed, " that there was ſomething grand and impoſing in the general " effect that reſulted from the whole *ſpectacle*. The Emperor " himſelf being ſeated in front upon his throne, and all his " great men and officers attending in their robes of ceremony, " and ſtationed on each ſide of him, ſome ſtanding, ſome ſit- " ting, ſome kneeling, and the guards and ſtandard-bearers be- " hind them in incalculable numbers. A dead ſilence was ri- " gidly obſerved, not a ſyllable articulated, nor a laugh ex- " ploded during the whole performance."

Such was the reception and the entertainment of the Britiſh Embaſſador at the court of Gehol, in *Man-tchoo* Tartary, during the days of the feſtival of the Emperor's anniverſary. I now proceed to give ſome account of the manner in which the Dutch Embaſſadors were received, and the entertainments that took place on the occaſion of the feſtival of the new year, as related in the manuſcript journal above alluded to.

This

This journaliſt obſerves that, on approaching the capital of the empire, they were not a little aſtoniſhed to find that the farther they advanced the more miſerable and poor was the apparent condition of the people, and the face of the country; the clay-built huts and thoſe of ill-burnt bricks were crumbling to duſt; the temples were in ruins, the earthen gods were demoliſhed, and their fragments ſtrewed on the ground; and the diſtrict was thinly inhabited. The following day they entered Pekin, but were turned out again to take up their lodgings in the ſuburbs, in a ſort of ſtable. From this place they were ordered to proceed to the palace in their old travelling dreſſes, as their baggage was not yet arrived. They were drawn in ſmall carts as crazy and as much out of order as their own dreſſes. Sitting in the bottom of theſe carts, without any ſeats, they waited within the walls of the palace a full hour, while an empty room was ſwept out for their reception. Having remained here for ſome time, a few planks were brought in, on which were arranged a number of diſhes of meat and fiſh, ſtewed in different ways. Having finiſhed their repaſt, thus ended their firſt day's viſit.

The following morning, at five o'clock, they were again ſummoned to court, and uſhered into a ſmall room like that of the preceding day, without any kind of furniture. The weather being extremely cold, the thermometer many degrees below the freezing point, the Embaſſadors prevailed on the people to make a little fire which after ſome time was brought in, not however without letting them underſtand that it was an extra-

ordinary

ordinary mark of favour, it being the cuſtom of the Chineſe to let all Embaſſadors wait the arrival of the Emperor in the open air.

At length the Emperor made his appearance, carried by eight men in a yellow ſedan chair. On his approaching the place where the Embaſſadors and their ſuite were ſtanding, they were directed by the maſter of the ceremonies to fall down on their knees, and in this poſture the firſt Embaſſador was inſtructed to hold in both his hands, above his head, the gold box in which was contained the letter for the Emperor: the ſecond miniſter then ſtepped forwards, and took the letter out of his hands, which he delivered to the Emperor; and, at the ſame time, they were directed to bow their heads nine times to the ground, in token of acknowledgment for the gracious reception they had met with from his Chineſe Majeſty.

This ceremony being ended, they were deſired to follow the Emperor's chair, which was carried to the ſide of a pond or baſon in the gardens, then frozen over. From this place the Emperor was drawn on a ſledge to a tent pitched on the ice, whilſt the Embaſſador and his ſuite were conducted into a dirty hovel little better than a pig-ſtye, where they were deſired to ſit down on a ſort of bench built of ſtone and mortar; for, like the room they were put into on a former day, it was deſtitute of the leaſt furniture; and they were told that ſomething preſently would be brought for them to eat. On complaining to their conductors that this was not the manner in which they were accuſtomed to ſit down to meat, and that they did not con-

ceive ſuch apartments to be at all ſuitable to the ſituation they had the honour to hold, they were ſhortly afterwards conducted into another room, little better however than the firſt, but partly furniſhed with a few old chairs and tables. The candleſticks were ſmall blocks of wood, to which the candles were faſtened with a couple of nails. A few diſhes of ſtewed meat were ſerved up and, as a great delicacy from the Emperor's table, were brought in, without any diſh, a pair of ſtag's legs, which the Chineſe threw down upon the naked table; and for this mark of imperial favour they were required to make the cuſtomary genuflections and nine proſtrations.

Van Braam, in the journal which he or ſome of his friends publiſhed in Paris, gives a curious account of the manner in which they were fed from the Emperor's table: "La viande "conſiſtait en un morceau de côtes ſur lequelles il n'y avait "point un demi-pouce d'épaiſſeur d'une chair maigre, en un "petit os de l'épaule ou il n'y avait preſque pas de chair, et en "quatre ou cinq autres oſſemens fournis par le dos ou par les "pattes d'un mouton, et qui ſemblaient avoir été déja rongés. "Tout ce dégoûtant enſemble était ſur un plat ſale et paraiſſait "plutôt deſtiné à faire le regal d'un chien que le repas d'un "homme. En Holland le dernier des mendians recevrait, dans "un hôpital, une pittance plus propre, et cependant c'eſt une "marque d'honneur de la part d'un Empereur envers un Am-"baſſadeur! Peut-être même etait-ce le reſte du Prince, et dans "ce cas, ſelon l'opinion des Chinois, c'était le dernier terme "de la faveur, puiſque nous pouvions achever l'os que ſa Ma-"jeſté avait commencé à nettoyer."—"The meat conſiſted of a "ſmall

" ſmall piece of the ribs, on which there was not half an inch " in thickneſs of lean fleſh, and a ſmall ſhoulder-blade almoſt " without any upon it; and in four or five other pieces of " bones from the back, or the legs of a ſheep, which appeared " to have been already gnawed. The whole of this diſguſting " meſs was brought upon a dirty plate, and ſeemed much rather " intended to feaſt a dog than as a refreſhment for man. In " Holland the meaneſt beggar would receive in an hoſpital his " allowance in a neater manner; and yet it was intended as a " mark of honour on the part of an Emperor towards an Em- " baſſador! Perhaps it was even the remains of the Sovereign, " and in that caſe, according to the opinion of the Chineſe, it " was the greateſt poſſible act of favour, ſince we ſhould then " have had an opportunity of finiſhing the bone which his Im- " perial Majeſty had begun to pick."

The Dutch gentlemen, equally diſguſted with the meanneſs and filthineſs of the place, and with the pride and haughtineſs of the people, became now reconciled to the ſhabby appearance of their old travelling dreſſes, which they began to conſider as fully good enough for the occaſion.

Having finiſhed their elegant repaſt, the amuſements of the day commenced on the ice. The Emperor made his appearance in a ſort of ſledge, ſupported by the figures of four dragons. This machine was moved about by ſeveral great Mandarins, ſome dragging before, and others puſhing behind. The four principal miniſters of ſtate were alſo drawn upon the ice in their ſledges by inferior mandarins. Whole troops of civil

and military officers ſoon appeared, ſome on ſledges, ſome on ſkaits, and others playing at football upon the ice, and he that picked up the ball was rewarded by the Emperor. The ball was then hung up in a kind of arch, and ſeveral mandarins ſhot at it, in paſſing on ſkaits, with their bows and arrows. Their ſkaits were cut off ſhort under the heel, and the fore-part was turned up at right angles. Owing to this form, or to the inexpertneſs of the ſkaiters, they could not ſtop themſelves on a ſudden, but always tumbled one over the other whenever they came near the edge of the ice, or towards the quarter where the Emperor happened to be.

Leaving this place, they were carried through ſeveral narrow ſtreets, compoſed of miſerable houſes, forming a ſurpriſing contraſt with the proud walls of the palace. They were conducted into a ſmall room of one of theſe houſes, almoſt void of furniture, in order to pay their compliments to *Ho-tchung-tang*, the Collao, or prime miniſter, whom they found ſitting croſs-legged on a truckle bedſtead with cane bottom. Before this creature of fortune, whoſe fate I ſhall have occaſion hereafter to notice, they were obliged to go down on their knees. Like a true prime miniſter of China, he waved all converſation that might lead towards buſineſs, talked to them of the length of their journey, was aſtoniſhed how they bore the cold weather in ſuch ſcanty clothing, and ſuch like general topics, which, in fact, ſignified nothing. From the firſt miniſter they paid their viſit to the ſecond, whom they found lodged in a ſimilar manner; after which they returned to their mean apartments in the city, more ſatisfied on a compariſon with the

the miſerable little chambers in which they had found the two firſt miniſters of this far-famed empire lodged, and the mean hovels which they met with in the very center of the ſpace ſhut in by the walls of the imperial palace. The impreſſions that the events and tranſactions of this day made on the minds of the viſitors were thoſe of utter aſtoniſhment, on finding every thing ſo very much the reverſe of what they had been led to expect.

The following day they were again drawn to court in their little carts, before four o'clock in the morning, where, after having waited about five hours in empty rooms, ſimilar to thoſe of the preceding day, two or three great men (*Ta-gin*) called upon them, but behaved towards them in a diſtant, ſcornful, and haughty manner. "We had once more," obſerves the Dutch journaliſt, from which I quote, "an occaſion "to remark the ſurprizing contraſt of magnificence and mean-"neſs in the buildings, and of pride and littleneſs in the per-"ſons belonging to the imperial palace."

After theſe interviews, they were ſuffered to remain a day or two at home; but on a bag of dried grapes being brought by a mandarin from the Emperor, they were required to thank him for the preſent with nine proſtrations, as uſual. Another time a little paſtry from the imperial kitchen demanded the ſame ceremony. In ſhort, whether at home or in the palace, the Chineſe were determined they ſhould be kept in the conſtant practice of the *koo-too*, or ceremony of genuflexion and proſtration.

On

On the 26th of January, the Embaſſadors received notice that it was expected they ſhould attend the proceſſion of the Emperor to the temple, where he was about to make an offering to the God of Heaven and of earth. Having waited accordingly by the road ſide, from three o'clock in the morning till ſix, the weather diſmally cold, Fahrenheit's thermometer ſtanding at 16°. below the freezing point, the Emperor at length paſſed in his chair, when they made the uſual proſtrations and returned home.

The next morning they were again required to proceed to the ſame place, and at the ſame early hour, to witneſs his return and again to go through the uſual ceremony.

On the 29th, they were again ſummoned to attend by the road ſide to do homage before the Emperor, as he paſſed them on his way to a pagoda or *poo-ta-la*, a kind of temple or monaſtery, where a great number of prieſts, clothed in yellow, lived together in a ſtate of celibacy; and here he made his burnt-offerings. The myſtical rates performed, preſents were brought out for the Embaſſador and ſuite, and alſo for the *King* of *Holland*, conſiſting of little purſes, flimſey ſilks, and a coarſe ſtuff ſomewhat ſimilar to that known by ſeamen under the name of *bunting*; and, in token of gratitude for this mark of imperial kindneſs, they were directed again to *bow down their heads to the ground.*

On the 30th, it was announced to them that the Emperor intended to pay a viſit to his palace at *Yuen-min-yuen*, and that it

rope-dancing, and a ſort of pantomimic performance, the principal characters of which were men dreſſed in ſkins, and going on all-fours, intended to repreſent wild beaſts; and a parcel of boys habited in the dreſſes of mandarins, who were to hunt them. This extraordinary chace, and the muſic, and the rope-dancing, put the Emperor into ſuch good humour, that he rewarded the performers very liberally. And the Empreſs and the ladies, who were in an upper part of the houſe concealed behind a ſort of venetian blinds, appeared from their tittering noiſe to be highly entertained. The whole concluded, though in the middle of the day, with a variety of fire-works; and the Chineſe part of the company departed ſeemingly well ſatisfied with theſe diverſions.

An eclipſe of the moon happening on the fourth of February gave occaſion to the Embaſſadors to enjoy a little reſt at home, though they were ſummoned to attend the palace at a very early hour in the morning. The Emperor and his mandarins were engaged the whole day in devoutly praying the gods that the moon might not be eaten up by the great dragon that was hovering about her. Recovered from their apprehenſions, an entertainment was given the following day, at which the Embaſſadors were required to be preſent. After a number of juggling tricks and infantine ſports, a pantomime, intended to be an exhibition of the battle of the dragon and the moon, was repreſented before the full court. In this engagement two or three hundred prieſts, bearing lanterns ſuſpended at the ends of long ſticks, performed a variety of evolutions, dancing and capering about, ſometimes over the plain, and then over chairs

I ſuſpect, however, that the amuſements of the theatre have in ſome degree degenerated at court ſince the time of the Tartar conqueſt. Dancing, riding, wreſtling, and poſture-making, are more congenial to the rude and unpoliſhed Tartar than the airs and dialogue of a regular drama, which is better ſuited to the genius and ſpirit of the ceremonious and effeminate Chineſe. I am led to this obſervation from the very common cuſtom among the Chineſe officers of ſtate of having private theatres in their houſes, in which, inſtead of the juggling tricks above mentioned, they occaſionally entertain their gueſts with regular dramatic performances. In the courſe of our journey through the country and at Canton, we were entertained with a number of exhibitions of this kind; and as "the purpoſe of playing," as our immortal bard has obſerved, "both at the firſt, and "now, was, and is, to hold as 'twere the mirror up to nature," it may not be foreign to the preſent ſubject to take a brief notice of ſuch performances.

The ſubjects of the pieces exhibited are for the moſt part hiſtorical, and relate generally to the tranſactions of remote periods, in which caſes the dreſſes are conformable to the ancient *coſtume* of China. There are others, however, that repreſent the Tartar conqueſt, but none built on hiſtorical events ſubſequent to that period. But the ancient drama is preferred by the critics. They have alſo comic pieces, in which there is always a buffoon, whoſe grimaces and low jeſts, like thoſe of the buffoons in our own theatres, obtain from the audience the greateſt ſhare of applauſe. The dialogue in all their dramas, whether ſerious or comic, is conducted in a kind of monotonous

tonous recitative, ſometimes however riſing or ſinking a few tones, which are meant to be expreſſive of paſſionate or querulous cadences. The ſpeaker is interrupted at intervals by ſhrill harſh muſic, generally of wind inſtruments, and the pauſes are invariably filled up with a loud craſh, aided by the ſonorous and deafening gong, and ſometimes by the kettle drum. An air or ſong generally follows. Joy, grief, rage, deſpair, madneſs, are all attempted to be expreſſed in ſong on the Chineſe ſtage. I am not ſure that a vehement admirer of the Italian opera might not take umbrage at the repreſentation of a Chineſe drama, as it appears to be ſomething ſo very like a burleſque on that faſhionable ſpecies of dramatic entertainment; nor is the Chineſe ſtage wanting in thoſe vocal warblers, the nature of whom, as we are told by the ingenious and very entertaining Martin Sherlock, a French lady explained to her little inquiſitive daughter, by informing her, that there was the ſame difference between them and men, as between an ox and a bull. Such creatures are indeed more neceſſary to the Chineſe theatre, as the manners of the country prohibit women from appearing in public.

The unity of action is ſo far preſerved, that they have actually no change of ſcene; but change of place muſt frequently be ſuppoſed. To aſſiſt the imagination in this reſpect, their management is whimſical enough. If it be neceſſary to ſend a general on a diſtant expedition, he mounts a ſtick, takes two or three turns round the ſtage, brandiſhes a little whip, and ſings a ſong; when this is ended, he ſtops ſhort, and recommences his recitative, when the journey is ſuppoſed to be performed.

The want of ſcenery is ſometimes ſupplied by a very unclaſſical figure, which, juſt the reverſe of the *proſopopoeia*, or perſonification of grammarians, conſiders perſons to repreſent things. If, for inſtance, a walled city is to be ſtormed, a parcel of ſoldiers, piling themſelves on a heap acroſs the ſtage, are ſuppoſed to repreſent the wall over which the ſtorming party is to ſcramble. This puts one in mind of the ſhifts of Nick Bottom. "Some man or other muſt preſent wall," and, "let "him have ſome plaiſter, or ſome lome, or ſome rough-caſt "about him to ſignify wall."

The audience is never left in doubt as to the character which is produced before it. Like the ancient Greek drama and, in imitation thereof, all our old plays, the *dramatis perſonæ* introduce themſelves in appropriate ſpeeches to the acquaintance of the ſpectators.

As to the time of action, a ſingle drama will ſometimes include the tranſactions of a whole century, or even of a dynaſty more than twice the length of that period; which, among other abſurdities, gave Voltaire occaſion to compare what he thought to be a literal tranſlation of the *Orphan of the Houſe of Tchao*, "to thoſe monſtrous farces of Shakeſpear, which have been "called tragedies;" farces, however, which will continue to be read by thoſe who underſtand them, which *he* did not, with heartfelt emotion and delight, when his *Orphan of China* ſhall have ſunk into the neglect even of his own admiring countrymen.

In

In this miſerable compoſition of *Father Prémare*, for it can ſcarcely be called a tranſlation, there is neither diction, nor ſentiment, nor character; it is a mere tiſſue of unnatural, or at leaſt very improbable events, fit only for the amuſement of children, and not capable of raiſing one ſingle paſſion, but that of contempt for the taſte of thoſe who could expreſs an admiration of ſuch a compoſition. The denouement of the piece is materially aſſiſted by means of a dog: but this part of the ſtory is told, and not exhibited; the Chineſe taſte not being quite ſo depraved, in this inſtance, as to admit the performance of a four-footed animal on the ſtage.

This drama with ninety-nine others, publiſhed together in one work, are conſidered as the claſſical ſtock-pieces of the Chineſe ſtage; but like ourſelves, they complain that a depraved taſte prevails for modern productions very inferior to thoſe of ancient date. It is certainly true, that every ſort of ribaldry and obſcenity are encouraged on the Chineſe ſtage at the preſent day. A ſet of players of a ſuperior kind travel occaſionally from Nankin to Canton; at the latter of which cities, it ſeems, they meet with conſiderable encouragement from the Hong merchants, and other wealthy inhabitants. At theſe exhibitions the Engliſh are ſometimes preſent. The ſubject and the conduct of one of their ſtock pieces, which being a great favourite is frequently repeated, are ſo remarkable, that I cannot forbear taking ſome notice of it. A woman being tempted to murder her huſband performs the act whilſt he is aſleep, by ſtriking a ſmall hatchet into his forehead. He appears on the ſtage with a large gaſh juſt above the eyes, out of which iſſues a prodigious

effuſion

effuſion of blood, reels about for ſome time, bemoaning his lamentable fate in a ſong, till exhauſted by loſs of blood, he falls, and dies. The woman is ſeized, brought before a magiſtrate, and condemned to be flayed alive. The ſentence is put in execution; and, in the following act, ſhe appears upon the ſtage not only naked, but completely excoriated. The thin wrapper with which the creature (an eunuch) is covered, who ſuſtains the part, is ſtretched ſo tight about the body, and ſo well painted, as to repreſent the diſguſting object of a human being deprived of its ſkin; and in this condition the character ſings or, more properly ſpeaking, whines nearly half an hour on the ſtage, to excite the compaſſion of three infernal or malignant ſpirits who, like Æacus, Minos, and Rhadamanthus, ſit in judgment on her future deſtiny. I have been informed that it is ſcarcely poſſible to conceive a more obſcene, indelicate, and diſguſting object, than this favourite exhibition, which, if intended "to hold th e mirror up to nature," it is to nature in its moſt groſs, rude, and uncivilized ſtate, ill-agreeing with the boaſted morality, high poliſh, refined delicacy, and ceremonious exterior of the Chineſe nation; but it tends, among other parts of their real conduct in life, to ſtrengthen an obſervation I have already made with regard to their filial piety, and which, with few exceptions, may perhaps be extended to moſt of their civil and moral inſtitutions, "that they exiſt more in ſtate "maxims, than in the minds of the people." As, however, a Chineſe might be led to make ſimilar reflexions on the exhibition of Harlequin Skeleton, and thoſe numerous repreſentations that of late years have crept upon our own ſtage, where ghoſts, hobgoblins, and bleeding ſtatues are called in aid of the *ſpectacle*,

I ſhould heſitate to draw any general concluſion, with regard to their taſte, from the particular exhibition of a woman flayed alive, were they not in the conſtant practice of performing other pieces that, in point of immorality and obſcenity, are ſtill infinitely worſe; ſo vulgarly indelicate and ſo filthy, that the European part of the audience is ſometimes compelled by diſguſt to leave the theatre. Theſe are ſuch as will not bear deſcription, nor do I know to what ſcenic repreſentations they can with propriety be compared, unleſs to thoſe groſs indecencies of Theodora, which Procopius has deſcribed to have been exhibited on the Roman ſtage, in the reign of Juſtinian *. The people who encourage them muſt be ſunk very deep in intellectual groſſneſs, and have totally loſt ſight of all decency. Theſe and ſimilar ſcenes may be conſidered among the ill effects of excluding women from their due ſhare of influence in ſociety.

It would be impoſſible to compliment the court of Pekin on the elegance and refinement of its entertainments, but at the expence of truth and reaſon. Thoſe of Tartar origin will no more bear a compariſon with the noble conteſts of ſtrength and agility diſplayed by the old hardy Romans in the Circenſian games, than the regular drama of the Chineſe will admit of being meaſured by the ſofter, but more refined and rational amuſements of a ſimilar kind in Europe. It is true the ſcenic repreſentations in the decline of the Roman empire, as they are deſcribed to us, appear to have been as rude and barbarous as thoſe of the Chineſe. They began by exhibiting in their vaſt

* See *Gibbon*, under Emperor Juſtinian: and *Menagiana*, in which is given the tranſlation of a very extraordinary paſſage from *Procopius*.

amphi-

amphitheatre the rare and wonderful productions of nature. Foreſts enlivened with innumerable birds; caverns pouring forth lions, and tygers, and panthers, and other beaſts of prey; plains covered with the elephant, the rhinoſceros, the zebra, the oſtrich, and other curious animals, which the wilds of Africa furniſhed, were all brought together within the circuit of the *arena*. Not ſatisfied with the rich productions of the earth, the ſea muſt alſo become tributary to their amuſements. The arena was convertible into a ſheet of water; and, at length, the two elements concluding a marriage, as on the Chineſe theatre, produced a race of monſters which, according to the Latin poet's * deſcription, might vie with thoſe of China.

" Non ſolum nobis ſylveſtria cernere monſtra
" Contigit, æquoreos ego cum certantibus urſis
" Spectavi vitulos, et equorum nomine dignum
" Sed difforme genus."——

Where Sylvan monſters not alone appear,
But ſea-cows ſtruggle with the ſhaggy bear,
And horſes of the deep, a ſhapeleſs race.——

In ſhort, the greater part of the amuſements of the Chineſe are, at the preſent day, of a nature ſo very puerile, or ſo groſs and vulgar, that the tricks and the puppet-ſhews which are occaſionally exhibited in a common fair of one of the country towns of England, may be conſidered as comparatively poliſhed, intereſting, and rational. In ſlight-of-hand, in poſture-making, rope-dancing, riding, and athletic exerciſes, they are much inferior to Europeans; but in the variety of their fire-works they, perhaps, may carry the palm againſt the whole

* A. Calpurnius.

world.

world. In every other reſpect the amuſements of the capital of China appear to be of a low and trifling nature, neither ſuited to the affected gravity of the government nor to the generally ſuppoſed ſtate of civilization among the people.

The old Emperor, as he obſerved to Lord Macartney, ſeldom partook of ſuch amuſements. Conſidering, indeed, all the circumſtances connected with the reign of the preſent dynaſty on the throne, the government of an empire of ſuch vaſt magnitude, ſtored with an almoſt incalculable population, muſt neceſſarily be a taſk of inconceivable vigilance and toil; a taſk that muſt have required all the time, the talents, and the attention of the four ſovereigns to enſure the brilliant and unparalleled ſucceſſes that have diſtinguiſhed their long reign. *Tchien Lung*, at the age of eighty-three, was ſo little afflicted with the infirmities of age, that he had all the appearance and activity of a hale man of ſixty. His eye was dark, quick, and penetrating, his noſe rather aquiline, and his complexion, even at this advanced age, was florid. His height I ſhould ſuppoſe to be about five feet ten inches, and he was perfectly upright. Though neither corpulent nor muſcular at eighty-three, it was not difficult to perceive that he once had poſſeſſed great bodily ſtrength. He always enjoyed a vigorous conſtitution, which the regularity of his life did not impair. Like all the Mantchoo Tartars he was fond of hunting, an exerciſe that during the ſummer months he never neglected. He had the reputation of being an expert bowman, and inferior only in drawing this weapon to his grandfather *Caung-ſhee*, who boaſts, in his laſt

will, that he drew a bow of the weight or ſtrength of one hundred and fifty pounds.

Nor were the faculties of his mind leſs active, or leſs powerful, than thoſe of his body. As prompt in conceiving as reſolute in executing his plans of conqueſt, he ſeemed to command ſucceſs. Kind and charitable, as on all occaſions he ſhewed himſelf to his ſubjects, by remitting the taxes, and adminiſtering relief in ſeaſons of diſtreſs, he was no leſs vindictive and relentleſs to his enemies. Impatient of reſtraint or reverſes, he has ſometimes been led to act with injuſtice, and to puniſh with too great ſeverity. His irafcible temper was once the cauſe of a ſevere and laſting affliction to himſelf, and the circumſtances connected with it are ſaid to have produced a gloom and melancholy on his mind which never entirely forſook him. About the middle part of his reign, he made a circuit through the heart of his empire. At *Sau-tchoo-foo*, a city that is celebrated for its beautiful ladies which, being purchaſed when infants, are educated there for ſale to the opulent, he was captivated with a girl of extraordinary beauty and talents, whom he intended to carry back with him to his capital. The Empreſs, by means of an eunuch, was made acquainted with his new amour, and dreading his future neglect, her ſpirits were depreſſed to ſuch a degree, that a few days after receiving the intelligence ſhe put an end to her exiſtence with a cord. The Emperor, on hearing this melancholy news, was greatly diſtreſſed and repaired without delay to Pekin. One of his ſons, a very amiable youth, fearful of incurring his father's diſpleaſure, had entertained ſome doubts whether it would be moſt proper

to appear before him in deep mourning for his mother, which might be conſtrued as an inſult to the father, who had been the cauſe of her death, or in his robes of ceremony, which would be diſreſpectful to the memory of his deceaſed mother. In this dilemma he conſulted his ſchoolmaſter, who, like a true Chineſe, adviſed him to put on both. He did ſo and, unfortunately for him, covered the mourning with the ceremonial habit. *Tchien-Lung*, whoſe affection had now returned for his deceaſed Empreſs, and whoſe melancholy fate he was deeply lamenting, on perceiving his ſon at his feet without mourning, was ſo ſhocked and exaſperated at the ſuppoſed want of filial duty that, in the moment of rage, he gave him a violent kick in an unfortunate place which, after his languiſhing a few days, proved fatal.

None of his four ſurviving ſons ever poſſeſſed any ſhare of his confidence or authority which, of late years, were wholly beſtowed on his firſt miniſter *Ho-chung-tong*. He had a due ſenſe of religious duties, which he regularly performed every morning. Having made a vow at the early part of his reign that, ſhould it pleaſe heaven to grant him to govern his dominions for a complete cycle, or ſixty years, he would then retire, and reſign the throne to his ſucceſſor, he religiouſly obſerved it on the accompliſhment of the event. The ſincerity of his faith may partly be inferred from the numerous and ſplendid temples he built and endowed in different parts of oriental Tartary, of which the *Poo-ta-la*, or convent of Budha at Gehol, is the moſt magnificent. It is ſaid indeed, from the circumſtance of his long and fortunate reign, he had, in his later years, entertained

an idea, that the Lama, or Budha, or Fo, for they are all the ſame perſonage, had condeſcended to become incarnate in his perſon. " However wild and extravagant," obſerves Lord Macartney, " ſuch a conceit may be regarded, we know from " hiſtory how much even the beſt underſtandings may be per- " verted by proſperity, and that human nature, not ſatisfied " with the good things of this world, ſometimes wiſhes to an- " ticipate the condition and felicity of the next. If Alexander " ſcorned to own leſs than Jupiter Ammon for his father, if " many Roman Emperors extorted altars and ſacrifices in their " lifetime, if, even in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, an Engliſh " nobleman * encouraged the belief of his deſcent from a ſwan, " and was complimented in a dedication upon his feathered " pedigree, a ſimilar infatuation may be the leſs inexcuſable in " *Kien-Long*, a monarch, the length and happineſs of whoſe " reign, the unlimited obedience of whoſe incalculable number " of ſubjects, and the health and vigour of whoſe body, have " hitherto kept out of his view moſt of thoſe circumſtances " that are apt to remind other men of their miſery and mor- " tality."

Till his laſt illneſs he continued to riſe at three o'clock in the morning, both in winter and ſummer. He uſually took ſome cordial to fortify his ſtomach, and then repaired to his private devotions at one of his temples. After this he read the diſpatches of his great officers, both civil and military, who from their different ſtations were ordered to write to him directly,

* Duke of Buckingham. See the notes on this character in Shakeſpear's Henry VIII. Act i. Scene 2.

and

and not to the tribunals as had uſually been the caſe. About ſeven he took his breakfaſt of tea, wines, and confectionary, when he tranſacted buſineſs with the firſt miniſter, conſulting with, or directing, him in the weighty matters of ſtate, previous to their appearing in regular form before the reſpective departments to which they belonged. He had then a kind of levee, which was uſually attended by the collaos, or miniſters, and the preſidents of the departments or public boards. At eleven refreſhments were again ſerved up and, after buſineſs was over, he either amuſed himſelf in the women's apartments, or walked round his palace or gardens. Between three and four he uſually dined, after which he retired to his private rooms and employed himſelf in reading or writing till bed-time, which was always regulated by, and ſeldom later than, the ſetting of the ſun.

He was fully perſuaded that his uninterrupted health was chiefly owing to his early retiring to reſt, and early riſing; an obſervation, indeed, that in our country has grown into a maxim, and maxims are generally grounded on truth. The late Lord Mansfield made a point for many years of enquiring from all the aged perſons, that at any time appeared before him to give evidence, into their particular mode of living, in order that he might be able to form ſome general concluſion with regard to the cauſes of their longevity. The reſult of his obſervations was, that he could draw no inference from their intemperance or abſtemiouſneſs with regard to diet or drinking, but that they all agreed in one point, that of being early riſers.

Tchien-

Tchien-Lung reſigned the throne of China to his fifteenth ſon, the preſent *Kia-king*, in February 1796, having completed a reign of ſixty years; and he died in the month of February 1799, at the advanced age of eighty-nine years.

When the Tartars conquered China, they found all the great officers of ſtate filled by eunuchs, and the palace ſwarmed with theſe creatures; the greater part was immediately diſplaced, and other Chineſe of talent and education were put into their places. Having, however, adopted the laws and cuſtoms of the conquered, it became neceſſary to keep up the uſual eſtabliſhment of women in the palace, the inevitable conſequence of which was the retention of a certain number of eunuchs to look after them. And they are at this moment as numerous, perhaps, in all the palaces, as they were at the conqueſt, but none of them are dignified with any office of truſt or importance in the ſtate. They conſider themſelves, however, as elevated far above the plebeian rank; and a bunch of keys or a birch broom gives them all the airs and inſolence of office.

Of theſe eunuchs there are two kinds. The one is ſo far emaſculated as never to have the conſolation of being a father; the other muſt ſubmit to loſe every trace of manhood. The firſt are entruſted with the inſpection and ſuperintendance of the buildings, gardens, and other works belonging to the imperial palaces, which they are required to keep in order. The *Raſibus*, as the miſſionaries call them, are admitted into the interior of the palace. Theſe creatures paint their faces, ſtudy their

their dreſs, and are as coquettiſh as the ladies, upon whom indeed it is their chief buſineſs to attend. The greateſt favourite ſleeps in the ſame room with the Emperor, to be ready to adminiſter to his wiſhes; and in this capacity he finds numberleſs opportunities to prejudice his maſter againſt thoſe for whom he may have conceived a diſlike; and inſtances are not wanting where the firſt officers in the ſtate have been diſgraced by means of theſe creatures.

They are equally deteſted and feared by the princes of the blood who reſide in the palace, by the court officers, and by the miſſionaries in the employ of government. The latter find it neceſſary to make frequent, and ſometimes expenſive, preſents to thoſe in particular about the perſon of his Imperial Majeſty. Should any of theſe gentlemen happen to carry about with him a watch, ſnuff-box, or other trinket, which the eunuch condeſcends to admire, there is no alternative; the miſſionary takes the hint, and begs his acceptance of it, knowing very well that the only way to preſerve his friendſhip is to ſhare with him his property. An omiſſion of this piece of civility has been productive of great injury to the European. The gentleman who regulates and keeps in order the ſeveral pieces of clock-work in the palace aſſured me, that the old eunuch, who was entruſted with the keys of the rooms, uſed to go in by night and purpoſely derange and break the machinery, that he might be put to the trouble and expence of repairing it. This happened to him ſo often that, at length, he became acquainted with the ſecret of applying the proper preventive, which although expenſive was ſtill leſs vexatious than

the

the conſtant reparation of the miſchief done to the articles of which he had the ſuperintendance.

The Chineſe eunuchs are addicted to all the vices that diſtinguiſh theſe creatures in other countries. There is ſcarcely one about the palace, whether of the claſs of porters and ſweepers, or of that which is qualified for the inner apartments, but have women in their lodgings, who are generally the daughters of poor people, from whom they are purchaſed, and are conſequently conſidered as their ſlaves. It is difficult to conceive a condition in life more humiliating, or more deplorable, than that of a female ſlave to an eunuch; but happily for ſuch females, in this country the mental powers are not very active. Several of the miſſionaries aſſured me of the truth of this fact, which indeed I have ſtrong reaſons for believing even of the *raſibus*. The keeper of the hall of audience once took me to his lodgings, but on coming to the door he deſired me to wait till he had made ſome arrangements within; the meaning of which was, until he had removed his lady out of the way; nor was he in the leaſt diſpleaſed at my hinting this to him. Being one of the favourite attendants of the ladies of the court, he was of courſe a *black eunuch*. He was the moſt capricious creature in the world; being ſometimes extremely civil and communicative, ſometimes ſullen, and not deigning to open his lips: and whenever he took it into his head to be offended, he was ſure to practiſe ſome little revenge. I fancy he was clerk of the kitchen, for the quality and the quantity of our dinner generally depended on the ſtate of his humour. When the report of the Embaſſador's making conditions with regard to the ceremony

ceremony of introduction firſt reached *Yuen-min-yuen*, he was more than uſually peeviſh, and conceived, as he thought, a notable piece of revenge. Some pains had been taken to arrange the preſents in ſuch a manner in the great hall as to fill the room well, and ſet them off to the beſt advantage. The old creature, determined to give us additional trouble and to break through the arrangement that had been made, deſired that the whole might be placed at one end of the room. On my objecting to this he pretended to have received the Emperor's order, and that at all events it muſt be obeyed; and the reaſon he aſſigned for the change was, "that his Majeſty might "ſee them at once from his throne, without being at the trou- "ble of turning his head."

The great number of theſe creatures about the palace of *Yuen-min-yuen* made my reſidence there extremely diſagreeable. They ſeemed, indeed, to be placed as ſpies on our conduct. If I attempted to move ever ſo little beyond the court of our apartments, I was ſure of being watched and purſued by ſome of them; to perſiſt in my walk would have thrown the whole palace in an uproar. I one day happened inadvertently to ſtray through a thicket, which it ſeems led towards the apartments of the ladies, but I had not proceeded far before I heard ſeveral ſqualling voices in the thicket, which I ſoon recogniſed to be thoſe of eunuchs. They had run themſelves out of breath in ſeeking me, and my old friend of the kitchen was not to be pacified for putting him to the hazard, as he pretended, of loſing his head by my imprudence.

The eunuchs and the women are the only companions of the Emperor in his leiſure hours: of the latter, one only has the rank of Empreſs, after whom are two Queens and their numerous attendants, which conſtitute the ſecond claſs of the eſtabliſhment; and the third conſiſts of ſix Queens, and their attendants. To theſe three ranks of his wives are attached one hundred ladies, who are uſually called his concubines, though they are as much a legal part of his eſtabliſhment as the others. They would ſeem to be of the ſame deſcription, and to hold the ſame rank as the handmaids of the ancient Iſraelites. Their children are all conſidered as branches of the Imperial family, but the preference to the ſucceſſion is generally given to the male iſſue of the firſt Empreſs, provided there ſhould be any. This however is entirely a matter of choice, the Emperor having an uncontrouled power of nominating his ſucceſſor, either in his own family or out of it. The daughters are uſually married to Tartar princes, and other Tartars of diſtinction, but rarely, if ever, to a Chineſe.

On the acceſſion of a new Emperor, men of the firſt rank and ſituation in the empire conſider themſelves as highly honoured and extremely fortunate, if the graces of their daughters ſhould prove ſufficient to provide them a place in the liſt of his concubines; in which caſe, like the nuns in ſome countries of Europe, they are doomed for ever to reſide within the walls of the palace. Such a fate, however, being common in China in a certain degree to all women-kind, is leſs to be deplored than the ſimilar lot of thoſe in Europe, where one ſex is ſuppoſed to be entitled to an equal degree of liberty with the

the other; and as the cuſtom of China authorizes the ſale of all young women by their parents or relations to men they never ſaw, and without their conſent previouſly obtained, there can be no hardſhip in conſigning them over to the arms of the prince; nor is any diſgrace attached to the condition of a concubine, where every marriage is a legal proſtitution. At the death of the ſovereign all his women are removed to a ſeparate building, called by a term which, diveſted of its metaphor, implies the *Palace of Chaſtity*, where they are doomed to reſide during the remainder of their lives.

CHAP. VI.

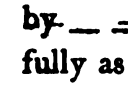
Language.—Literature, and the fine Arts.—Sciences.—Mechanics, and Medicine.

Opinion of the Chineſe Language being hieroglyphical erroneous.—Doctor Hager's miſtakes.—Etymological Compariſons fallacious.—Examples of.—Nature of the Chineſe written Character.—Difficulty and Ambiguity of.—Curious Miſtake of an eminent Antiquarian.—Mode of acquiring the Character.—Oral Language.—Mantchoo Tartar Alphabet.—Chineſe Literature.—Aſtronomy —Chronology.—Cycle of ſixty Years.—Geography.—Arithmetic.—Chemical Arts.—Cannon and Gunpowder.—Diſtillation.—Potteries.—Silk Manufactures.—Ivory.—Bamboo.—Paper.—Ink.—Printing.—Mechanics.—Muſic.—Painting.—Sculpture.—Architecture.—Hotel of the Engliſh Embaſſador in Pekin.—The Great Wall.—The Grand Canal.—Bridges.—Cemeteries.—Natural Philoſophy.—Medicine.—Chineſe Pharmacopoeia.—Quacks.—Contagious Fevers.—Small-pox.—Opthalmia.—Venereal Diſeaſe.—Midwifery.—Surgery.—Doctor Gregory's Opinion of their Medical Knowledge.—Sir William Jones's Opinion of their general Character.

IF no traces remained, nor any authorities could be produced, of the antiquity of the Chineſe nation, except the written character of their language, this alone would be ſufficient to decide that point in its favour. There is ſo much originality in this language, and ſuch a great and eſſential difference between it and that of any other nation not immediately derived from the Chineſe,

Chineſe, that not the moſt diſtant degree of affinity can be diſcovered, either with regard to the form of the character, the ſyſtem on which it is conſtructed, or the idiom, with any other known language upon the face of the globe. Authors, however, and ſome of high reputation, have been led to ſuppoſe that, in the Chineſe character, they could trace ſome relation to thoſe hieroglyphical or ſacred inſcriptions found among the remains of the ancient Egyptians; others have conſidered it to be a modification of hieroglyphic writing, and that each character was the ſymbol or comprehenſive form of the idea it was meant to expreſs, or, in other words, an abſtract delineation of the object intended to be repreſented. To ſtrengthen ſuch an opinion, they have ingeniouſly ſelected a few inſtances where, by adding to one part, and curtailing another, changing a ſtraight line into a curved one, or a ſquare into a circle, ſomething might be made out that approached to the picture, or the object of the idea conveyed by the character as, for example, the character , repreſenting *a cultivated piece of ground*, they ſuppoſed to be the picture of an incloſure, turned up in ridges; yet it ſo happens that, in this country, there are no incloſures; the character, a *mouth*, has been conſidered by them as a very cloſe reſemblance of that object; and *above* and *below*, diſtinctly marked theſe points of poſition; the character , ſignifying *man*, is, according to their opinion, obviouſly an abbreviated repreſentation of the human figure; yet the very ſame character, with an additional line acroſs,

acroſs, thus , which by the way approaches nearer to the human figure, having now arms as well as legs, ſignifies the abſtract quality *great*; and with a ſecond line thus the material or viſible *heaven*, between either of which and *man* it would be no eaſy taſk to find out the analogy; and ſtill leſs ſo to trace an affinity between any of them, and which ſignifies *a dog*.

It is true certain ancient characters are ſtill extant, in which a rude repreſentation of the image is employed; as for inſtance, a circle for the ſun, and a creſcent for the moon, but theſe appear to have been uſed only as abbreviations, in the ſame manner as theſe objects are ſtill characterized in our almanacks, and in our aſtronomical calculations. Thus alſo the *kingdom of China* is deſigned by a ſquare, with a vertical line drawn through the middle, in conformity perhaps with their ideas of the earth being a ſquare, and China placed in its center; ſo far theſe may be conſidered as ſymbols of the objects intended to be repreſented. So, alſo, the numerals one, two, three, being deſigned by  , would naturally ſuggeſt themſelves as being fully as convenient for the purpoſe, and perhaps more ſo than any other; and where the firſt ſeries of numerals ended, which according to the univerſal cuſtom of counting by the fingers was at *ten*, the very act of placing the index of the right hand on the little finger of the left would ſuggeſt the form of the vertical

vertical croſs + as the ſymbol or repreſentation of the number ten.

I cannot avoid taking notice in this place of a publication of Doctor Hager, which he calls an "*Explanation of the Elementary Characters of the Chineſe.*" In this work he has advanced a moſt extraordinary argument to prove an analogy between the ancient Romans and the Chineſe, from the reſemblance which he has fancied to exiſt between the numeral characters and the numeral ſounds made uſe of by thoſe two nations. The Romans, he obſerves, expreſſed their numerals one, two, three, by a correſponding number of vertical ſtrokes I. II. III. which the Chineſe place horizontally _ = ≡. The Romans deſigned the number ten by an oblique croſs , and the Chineſe by a vertical one +. This reſemblance in the forming of their numerals, ſo ſimple and natural that almoſt all nations have adopted it, is ſurely too ſlight a coincidence for concluding, that the people who uſe them muſt neceſſarily, at ſome period or other, have had communication together. The Doctor however ſeems to think ſo, and proceeds to obſerve, that the three principal Roman cyphers, I. V. X. or one, five and ten, are denoted in the Chineſe language by the ſame ſounds that they expreſs in the Roman alphabet. This remark, although ingenious, is not correct. *One* and *five*, it is true, are expreſſed in the Chineſe language by the *y* and *ou* of the French, which it may be preſumed, were the ſounds that the letters I. and V. obtained in the ancient Roman alphabet; but with regard to the *ten*, or X, which, he ſays, the Chineſe pronounce *xe*, he is entirely miſtaken, the Chineſe word for *ten* in Pekin being *ſhe*;

and

and in Canton *ſhap*. This error the Doctor appears to have been led into by conſulting ſome vocabulary in the Chineſe and Portugueſe languages; in the latter of which the letter X is pronounced like our *ſh*. But admitting, in its fulleſt extent, the reſemblance of ſome of the numerals uſed by the two nations, in the ſhape of the character, and of others in the ſound, it certainly cannot be aſſumed to prove any thing beyond a mere accidental coincidence.

The earlieſt accounts of China, after the doubling of the Cape of Good Hope, being written by Portugueſe miſſionaries, and the Chineſe proper names ſtill remaining to be ſpelt in the letters of that alphabet, have led ſeveral etymologiſts into great errors, not only with regard to the letter X, but more particularly in the *m* final, and the *h* incipient, the former being pronounced *ng*, and the latter with a ſtrong aſpirate, as *ſh*. Thus the name of the ſecond Emperor of the preſent dynaſty is almoſt univerſally written in Europe *Cam-hi*, whereas it is as univerſally pronounced in China *Caung-ſhee*.

The learned Doctor ſeems to be ſtill leſs happy in his next conjecture, where he obſerves that, as the Romans expreſſed their *five* by ſimply dividing the X, or ten, ſo alſo the ancient character ſignifying *five* with the Chineſe was × or ten between two lines thus ⊠ indicating, as it were, that the number ten was divided in two; the Doctor ſeems to have forgotten that he has here placed his croſs in the *Roman* form, and not as the Chineſe write it; and it is certainly a ſtrange way of cutting a thing in two, by encloſing it between two lines; but the learned

ſeldom baulk at an abſurdity, when a ſyſtem is to be eſtabliſhed. The Chineſe character for five is 五.

Of all deductions, thoſe drawn from etymological compariſons are, perhaps, the moſt fallacious. Were theſe allowed to have any weight, the Chineſe ſpoken language is of ſuch a nature, that it would be no difficult taſk to point out its relationſhip to that of every nation upon earth. Being entirely monoſyllabic, and each word ending in a vowel or a liquid, and being, at the ſame time, deprived of the ſounds of ſeveral letters in our alphabet, it becomes neceſſarily incapable of ſupplying any great number of diſtinct ſyllables. Three hundred are, in fact, nearly as many as an European tongue can articulate, or ear diſtinguiſh. It follows, of courſe, that the ſame ſound muſt have a great variety of ſignifications. The ſyllable *ching*, for example, is actually expreſſed by fifty-one different characters, each having a different, unconnected, and oppoſite meaning; but it would be the height of abſurdity to attempt to prove the coincidence of any other language with the Chineſe, becauſe it might happen to poſſeſs a word ſomething like the ſound of *ching*, which might alſo bear a ſignification not very different from one of thoſe fifty-one that it held in the Chineſe.

The Greek abounds with Chineſe words. Κυων, a *dog*, is in Chineſe both *keou* and *keun*, expreſſive of the ſame animal; ἐυ, *good*, is not very different from the Chineſe *hau*, which ſignifies the ſame quality; and the article τὸ is not far remote from *ta*,

be, or *that*. Both Greeks and Romans might recogniſe their firſt perſonal pronoun ἐγω or *ego* in *go*, or as it is ſometimes written *ngo*. The Italian affirmative *ſi* is ſufficiently near the Chineſe *ſhee*, or *zee*, expreſſing aſſent. The French *étang*, and the Chineſe *tang*, a pond or lake, are nearly the ſame, and their two negatives *pas* and *poo* are not very remote. *Lex*, *loi*, *le*, *law*, compared with *leu*, *lee*, *laws* and *inſtitutes*, are examples of analogy that would be deciſive to the etymological inquirer. The Engliſh word *mien*, the countenance, and the Chineſe *mien*, expreſſing the ſame idea, are nothing different, and we might be ſuppoſed to have taken our *gooſe* from their *goo*. To *ſing* is *chaung*, which comes very near our *chaunt*. The Chineſe call a cat *miau*, and ſo does the Hottentot. The Malay word *to know* is *tau*, and the Chineſe monoſyllable for the ſame verb is alſo *tau*, though in converſation they generally uſe the compound *tchee-tau*, each of which ſeparately have nearly the ſame meaning. The Sumatrans have *mau* for mother, the Chineſe ſay *moo*. On grounds equally ſlight with theſe have many attempts been made to form concluſions from etymological compariſons. If I miſtake not, the very ingenious Mr. Bryant makes the word *gate* a derivative from the Indian word *ghaut*, a paſs between mountains. Surely this is going a great deal too far for our little monoſyllable. Might we not with as great a degree of propriety fetch our *ſhallow* or *ſhoal* from China, where *ſha-loo* ſignifies a flat ſand, occaſionally covered with the tide? A noted antiquarian has been led into ſome comical miſtakes in his attempt to eſtabliſh a reſemblance between the Chineſe and the Iriſh languages, frequently by his having conſidered the letters of the continental alphabets, in which the Chineſe vocabulary

vocabulary he conſulted was written, to be pronounced in the ſame manner as his own *.

Whatever

* For the curioſity of thoſe who may be inclined to ſpeculate in etymological compariſons between the Chineſe and other languages, I here ſubjoin a ſhort liſt of words in the former, expreſſing ſome of the moſt ſtriking objects in the creation, a few ſubjects of natural hiſtory, and of ſuch articles as from their general uſe are familiar to moſt nations; theſe being of all others the moſt likely to have retained their primitive names. The orthography I have uſed is that of the Engliſh language.

The Earth	*tee*	A Quadruped	*ſhoo*
The Air	*kee*	A Bird	*kin*
Fire	*ho*	A Fiſh	*eu*
Water	*ſwee*	An Inſect	*tchong*
The Sea	*hai*	A Plant	*tſau*
A River	*ho*	A Tree	*ſhoo*
A Lake	*tang*	A Fruit	*ko-tſe*
A Mountain	*ſhan*	A Flower	*wha*
A Wilderneſs	*ye-tee*	A Stone	*ſhee*
The Sun	*jee-to*	Gold	*tchin*
The Moon	*yué*	Silver	*in tſe*
The Stars	*ſing*	Copper	*tung*
The Clouds	*yun*	Lead	*yuen*
Rain	*yeu*	Iron	*tié*
Hail	*ſwee-tan*	The Head	*too*
Snow	*ſwé*	The Hand	*ſhoo*
Ice	*ping*	The Heart	*ſin*
Thunder	*luie*	The Leg	*koo*
Lightning	*ſhan-tien*	The Foot	*tchiau*
The Wind	*fung*	The Face	*mien*
The Day	*jee* or *tien*	The Eyes	*yen-ſhing*
The Night	*ye* or *van ſhang*	The Ears	*eul-to*
The Sky or Heaven	*tien*	The Hair	*too fa*
The Eaſt	*tung*	An ox	*niew*
The Weſt	*ſee*	A Camel	*loo-too*
The North	*pee*	A Horſe	*ma*
The South	*nan*	An Aſs	*loo-tſe*
Man	*jin*	A Dog	*kioon*
Woman	*ſoo-jin*	A Frog	*tchoo*

A Sheep

Whatever degree of affinity may be diſcovered between the ſounds of the Chineſe language and thoſe of other nations, their written character has no analogy whatſoever, but is entirely peculiar

A Sheep	*yang*	Wool (Sheep's Hair)	*yangmau*
A Goat, or mountain Sheep	*ſhan-yang*	Coals	*tan*
		Sugar	*tang*
A Cat	*miau*	Cheeſe, they have none but thick Milk	*nai-ping*, or iced milk
A Stag	*ſhan loo*		
A Pidgeon	*koo-tſe*		
Poultry	*kee*	A Houſe	*ſhia*
An Egg	*kee-tan*	A Temple	*miau*
A Gooſe	*goo*	A Bed	*tchuang*
Oil	*yeo*	A Door	*men*
Rice	*mee*	A Table	*tai*
Milk	*nai*	A Chair	*ye-tzé*
Vinegar	*tſoo*	A Knife	*tau*
Tobacco	*yen*	A Pitcher	*ping*
Salt	*yen*	A Plough	*lee*
Silk	*tſoo*	An Anchor	*mau*
Cotton	*mien-wha*	A Ship	*tchuan*
Flax Plant	*ma*	Money	*tſien*
Hemp	*ma*		

I muſt obſerve, however, for the information of theſe philologiſts, that ſcarcely two provinces in China have the ſame oral language. The officers and their attendants who came with us from the capital could converſe only with the boatmen of the ſouthern provinces, through the medium of an interpreter. The character of the language is univerſal, but the name or ſound of the character is arbitrary. If a *convention of ſounds* could have been ſettled like a convention of marks, one would ſuppoſe that a commercial intercourſe would have effected it, at leaſt in the numeral ſounds, that muſt neceſſarily be interchanged from place to place and myriads of times repeated from one corner of the empire to the other. Let us compare then the numerals of Pekin with thoſe of Canton, the two greateſt cities in China.

1. Ye

peculiar to itſelf. Neither the Egyptian inſcriptions, nor the nail-headed characters, or monograms, found on the Babylonian bricks, have any nearer reſemblance to the Chineſe than the Hebrew letters have to the Sanſcrit; the only analogy that can be ſaid to exiſt between them is, that of their being compoſed of points and lines. Nor are any marks or traces of alphabetic writing diſcoverable in the compoſition of the Chineſe character; and, if at any time, hieroglyphics have been employed to convey ideas, they have long given way to a collection of arbitrary ſigns ſettled by convention, and conſtructed on a ſyſtem, as regular and conſtant as the formation of ſounds

	Pekin.	Canton.		Pekin.	Canton.
1.	Ye	yat	11.	ſhee-ye	ſhap-yat
2.	ul	ye	12.	ſhee-ul	ſhap-ye
3.	ſan	ſaam	20.	ul-ſhee	ye-ſhap
4.	ſoo	ſee	30.	ſan-ſhee	ſaam-ſhap
5.	ou	um	31.	ſan-ſhee-ye	ſaam-ſhap-yat
6.	leu	lok	32.	ſan-ſhee-ul	ſaam-ſhap-ye
7.	tchee	tſat	100.	pe	paak
8.	pas	pat	1000.	tſien	tſeen
9.	tcheu	kow	10,000.	van	man
10.	ſhee	ſhap	100,000.	ſhe-van	ſhap-man

If then, in this highly civilized empire, the oral language of the northern part differs ſo widely from the ſouthern that, in numerous inſtances, by none of the etymological tricks * can they be brought to bear any kind of analogy; if the very word which in Pekin implies the number *one*, be uſed in Canton to expreſs *two*, how very abſurd and ludicrous muſt thoſe learned and laboured diſſertations appear, that would aſſign an oriental origin to all our modern languages?

* Such as the addition, deduction, mutation, and tranſpoſition of letters, or even ſyllables. Thus Mr. Webbe thinks that the derivation of the Greek γυνὴ *a woman*, from the Chineſe *nu-gin*, is ſelf-evident.

in

in any of the European languages ariſes out of the alphabets of thoſe languages.

The hiſtory of the world affords abundant evidence that, in the dawn of civilization, moſt nations endeavoured to fix and to perpetuate ideas by painting the figures of the objects that produced them. The Egyptian prieſthood recorded the myſteries of their religion in graphic emblems of this kind; and the Mexicans, on the firſt arrival of the Spaniards, informed their prince Montezuma of what was paſſing by painting their ideas on a roll of cloth. There is no way ſo natural as this of expreſſing, and conveying to the underſtanding of others, the images that paſs in the mind, without the help of ſpeech. In the courſe of the preſent voyage, an officer of artillery and myſelf were diſpatched to make obſervations on the ſmall iſland of *Collao*, near the coaſt of *Cochin-china*. In order to make the natives comprehend our deſire to procure ſome poultry, we drew on paper the figure of a hen, and were immediately ſupplied to the extent of our wants. One of the inhabitants taking up the idea drew cloſe behind the hen the figure of an egg, and a nod of the head obtained us as many as we had occaſion for. The Bosjeſmen Hottentots, the moſt wild and ſavage race perhaps of human beings, are in the conſtant habit of drawing, on the ſides of caverns, the repreſentations of the different animals peculiar to the country. When I viſited ſome of thoſe caverns I conſidered ſuch drawings as the employment of idle hours; but, on ſince reflecting that in almoſt all ſuch caverns are alſo to be ſeen the figures of Dutch boors (who hunt theſe miſerable creatures like wild beaſts) in a variety of attitudes,

attitudes, ſome with guns in their hands, and others in the act of firing upon their countrymen; waggons ſometimes proceeding and at others ſtanding ſtill, the oxen unyoked, and the boors ſleeping; and theſe repreſentations generally followed by a number of lines ſcored like ſo many tallies; I am inclined to think they have adopted this method of informing their companions of the number of their enemies, and the magnitude of the danger. The animals repreſented were generally ſuch as were to be met with in the diſtrict where the drawings appeared; this, to a people who ſubſiſt by the chace and by plunder, might ſerve as another piece of important information.

The Chineſe hiſtory, although it takes notice of the time when they had no other method of keeping their records, except, like the Peruvians, by knotting cords, makes no mention of any hieroglyphical characters being uſed by them. If ſuch were actually the caſe, the remains of ſymbolical writing would now be moſt diſcoverable in the radical, or elementary characters, of which we ſhall preſently have occaſion to ſpeak, and eſpecially in thoſe which were employed to expreſs ſome of the moſt remarkable objects in nature. Out of the two hundred and twelve, or thereabout, which conſtitute the number of the radical ſigns, the following are a few of the moſt ſimple, in none of which, in my opinion, does there appear to be the leaſt reſemblance between the picture and the object.

gin,

人 *gin*, man

口 *koo*, a mouth

土 *tee*, earth

子 *tſé*, a ſon

艸 *tſau*, a plant

山 *ſhan*, a mountain

心 *ſin*, a heart

手 *ſhoo*, a hand

方 *fang*, ſpace, or a ſquare of ground

月 *yue*, the moon

日 *jee*, the ſun

木 *moo*, a tree

水 *ſwee*, water

火 *ho*, fire

石 *ſhee*, a ſtone.

The reſt of the elementary characters are, if poſſible, ſtill more unlike the objects they repreſent. There ſeems, therefore, to be no grounds for concluding that the Chineſe ever made uſe of hieroglyphics or, more properly ſpeaking, that their preſent character ſprung out of hieroglyphics. They have a tradition, which is univerſally believed, that their prince *Fo-ſhee* was the inventor of the ſyſtem upon which their written character is formed, and which, without any material alteration, there is every reaſon to ſuppoſe has continued in uſe to this day. To *Fo-ſhee*, however, they aſcribe the invention of almoſt every thing they know, which has led Mr. Baillie ingeniouſly to conjecture that *Fo-ſhee* muſt have been ſome foreigner who firſt

civilized China; as arts and ſciences do not ſpring up and bear fruit in the life of one man. Many changes in the form of characters may have taken place from time to time, but the principle on which they are conſtructed ſeems to have maintained its ground. The redundancies of particular characters have been removed for the ſake of convenience; and the learned in their epiſtolary writing have adopted a ſort of running hand, in which the form is ſo very materially altered, by rounding off the angles, connecting ſome parts and wholly omitting others, as to make it appear to a ſuperficial obſerver a totally different language. But I may venture to obſerve, that it has not only not undergone any material alteration for more than two thouſand years, but that it has never borrowed a *character*, or a ſyllable, from any other language that now exiſts. As a proof of this, it may be mentioned, that every new article that has found its way into China ſince its diſcovery to Europeans has acquired a Chineſe name, and entirely ſunk that which it bore by the nation who introduced it. The proper names even of countries, nations, and individuals are changed, and aſſume new ones in their language. Thus Europe is called *See-yang*, the weſtern country; Japan *Tung-yang*, the eaſtern country; India *Siau-ſee-yang*, the little weſtern country. The Engliſh are dignified by the name of *Hung-mou*, or *Red-heads*, and the French, Spaniſh, Portugueſe, and others, who viſit China, have each a name in the language of the country totally diſtinct from that they bear in Europe. This inflexibility in retaining the words of their own poor language has frequently made me think, that Doctor Johnſon had the Chineſe in his mind when, in that inimitable piece of fine writing which prefaces his diction-

ary, he made this remark: " The language moſt likely to con-
" tinue long without alteration, would be that of a nation
" raiſed a little, and but a little, above barbarity, ſecluded
" from ſtrangers, and totally employed in procuring the con-
" veniencies of life."

The invention of the Chineſe character, although an effort of genius, required far leſs powers of the mind than the diſcovery of an alphabet; a diſcovery ſo ſublime that, according to the opinion of ſome, nothing leſs than a divine origin ought to be aſcribed to it. It may, however, be conſidered as the neareſt approximation to an univerſal character that has hitherto been attempted by the learned and ingenious of any nation; each character conveying at once to the eye, not only ſimple, but the moſt combined ideas. The plan of our countryman, Biſhop Wilkins, for eſtabliſhing an univerſal character is, in all reſpects, ſo ſimilar to that upon which the Chineſe language is conſtructed, that a reference to the former will be found to convey a very competent idea of the nature of the latter. The univerſal character of our countryman is, however, more ſyſtematic, and more philoſophical, than the plan of the Chineſe character.

Certain ſigns expreſſing ſimple objects or ideas may be conſidered as the roots or primitives of this language. Theſe are few in number, not exceeding two hundred and twelve, one of which, or its abbreviation, will be found to compoſe a part of every character in the language; and may, therefore, be conſidered as the *key* to the character into which it enters. The eye

eye ſoon becomes accuſtomed to fix upon the particular key, or root, of the moſt complicated characters, in ſome of which are not fewer than ſixty or ſeventy diſtinct lines and points. The right line, the curved line, and a point are the rudiments of all the characters. Theſe, variouſly combined with one another, have been extended from time to time, as occaſion might require, to nearly eighty thouſand different characters.

To explain the manner in which their dictionaries are arranged will ſerve to convey a correct notion of the nature of this extraordinary language. All the two hundred and twelve roots or keys are drawn fair and diſtinct on the head of the page, beginning with the moſt ſimple, or that which contains the feweſt number of lines or points, and proceeding to the moſt complicated; and on the margins of the page are marked the numeral characters one, two, three, &c. which ſignify, that the *root* or *key* at the top will be found to be combined on that page with one, two, three, &c. lines or points. Suppoſe, for example, a learner ſhould meet with an unknown character, in which he perceives that the ſimple ſign expreſſing *water* is the *key* or *root*, and that it contains, beſides this root, *ſix* additional points and lines. He immediately turns over his dictionary to the place where the character *water* ſtands on the top of the page, and proceeding with his eye directed to the margin, until the numeral character *ſix* occurs, he will ſoon perceive the one in queſtion; for all the characters in the language, belonging to the *root water*, and compoſed of *ſix* other lines and points, will follow ſucceſſively in this place. The name or ſound of the character is placed immediately after it,

expreſſed in ſuch others as are ſuppoſed to be moſt familiar; and, in the method made uſe of for conveying this information, the Chineſe have diſcovered ſome faint and very imperfect idea of alphabetic writing, by ſplitting the monoſyllabic ſound into a diſſyllable, and again compreſſing the diſſyllable into a ſimple ſound. One inſtance will ſerve to explain this method. Suppoſe the name of the character under conſideration to be *ping*. If no ſingle character be thought ſufficiently ſimple to expreſs the ſound *ping*, immediately after it will be placed two well-known characters *pe* and *ing*; but, as every character in the language has a monoſyllabic ſound, it will readily be concluded, that *pe* and *ing*, when compreſſed into one ſyllable, muſt be pronounced *ping*. After theſe, the meaning or explanation follows, in the cleareſt and moſt eaſy characters that can be employed.

When, indeed, a conſiderable progreſs has been made in the language, the general meaning of many of the characters may be pretty nearly gueſſed at by the eye alone, as they will moſtly be found to have ſome reference, either immediate or remote, though very often in a figurative ſenſe, to the ſignification of the *key* or *root*; in the ſame manner as in the claſſification of objects in natural hiſtory, every ſpecies may be referred to its proper genus. The ſigns, for inſtance, expreſſing the *hand* and the *heart*, are two *roots*, and all the works of art, the different trades and manufactures, arrange themſelves under the firſt, and all the paſſions, affections, and ſentiments of the mind under the latter. The root of an *unit* or *one* comprehends all the characters expreſſive of unity, concord, harmony, and the

like. Thus, if I obſerve a character compounded of the two ſimple *roots*, *one* and *heart*, I have no difficulty in concluding that its ſignification is *unanimity*, but, if the ſign of a *negative* ſhould alſo appear in the ſame character, the meaning will be reverſed to *diſcord* or *diſſention*, literally *not one heart*. Many proper names of perſons have the character ſignifying *man* for their key or root, and all foreign names have the character *mouth* or *voice* annexed, which ſhews at once that the character is a proper name employed only to expreſs ſound without any particular meaning.

Nor are theſe keys or roots, although ſometimes placed on the right of the character, ſometimes on the left, now at the top, and then at the bottom, ſo very difficult to be diſcovered to a perſon who knows but a little of the language, as Doctor Hager has imagined. This is by far the eaſieſt part of the language. The abbreviations in the compound characters, and the figurative ſenſe in which they are ſometimes uſed, conſtitute the difficulty, by the obſcurity in which they are involved, and the ambiguity to which they are liable.

The Doctor is equally unfortunate in the diſcovery which he thinks he has made of a want of order in claſſing the elements according to the number of lines they contain. The inſtances he gives of ſuch anomaly are in the two characters of *moo*, mother; and *tien*, cultivated ground: the firſt of which he is ſurpriſed to find among the elementary characters of *four* lines, and the latter (which he aſſerts to be ſtill more ſimple) among thoſe of *five*. The Chineſe, however, are not

not quite ſo much out of order as the Doctor ſeems to be out of his province in attempting a critique on a language, of which he really poſſeſſes a very ſuperficial knowledge. The firſt character 毋 *mco* is compoſed of 乚 ㇇ 一 丿 and the ſecond 田 *tien* of 丿 ㇇ 一 丿 一; the one of four, and the other of five lines, according to the arrangement of Chineſe dictionaries, and their elementary treatiſes.

Among the roots or primitives that moſt frequently occur are thoſe expreſſing the *hand*, *heart*, *mouth*, and the five elements, *earth*, *air*, *fire*, *wood*, and *water*. *Man* is alſo a very common root.

The compoſition of characters is capable of exerciſing a very conſiderable degree of ingenuity, and the analyſis of them is extremely entertaining to a foreigner. As in a propoſition of Euclid it is neceſſary to go through the whole demonſtration before the figure to which it refers can be properly underſtood, ſo, in the Chineſe character, the ſenſe of the ſeveral component parts muſt firſt be known in order to comprehend the meaning of the compound. To endeavour to recollect them without this knowledge would be a laborious and almoſt impoſſible effort of the mind. Indeed, after this knowledge is acquired, the ſenſe is ſometimes ſo hid in metaphor, and in alluſions to particular cuſtoms or ways of thinking, that when all the component parts of a character are well underſtood, the meaning may yet remain in obſcurity. It may not be difficult to conceive, for inſtance, that in a figurative language, the union of the

tion of their characters, it would be the moſt intereſting of all languages. But ſuch is far from being the caſe. New characters are daily conſtructed, in which convenience, rather than perſpicuity, has been conſulted.

It will follow from what has been ſaid, that every compounded character is not only a word, but alſo a *definition*, comprehending in viſible marks its full explanation; but no character, however compounded, can have more than a monoſyllabic ſound, though each part when alone has a diſtinct ſound, as well as ſenſe. Thus, "Happineſs," though compounded of four diſtinct characters, *ſhee*, a demon; *ye*, one; *koo*, a mouth, and *tien*, a piece of cultivated ground, has only the ſimple monoſyllabic ſound *foo*, which is unlike that of any one of its compounds.

The ſounds and various inflexions incidental to languages in general, are not neceſſary to be attended to in the ſtudy of the Chineſe characters. They ſpeak equally ſtrong to a perſon who is deaf and dumb, as the moſt copious language could do to one in the full enjoyment of all his ſenſes. It is a language addreſſed entirely to the eye, and not to the ear. Juſt as a piece of muſic laid before ſeveral perſons of different nations of Europe would be played by each in the ſame key, the ſame meaſure, and the ſame air, ſo would the Chineſe characters be equally underſtood by the natives of Japan, Tunquin, and Cochin-China; yet each would give them different names or ſounds, that would be wholly unintelligible to one another. When, on the preſent voyage, we ſtopped at Pulo Condore, the

the inhabitants, being Cochin-Chineſe, had no difficulty in correſponding, by writing, with our Chineſe interpreters, though they could not interchange one intelligible word.

Although, with the aſſiſtance of a good dictionary and a tolerable memory, a knowledge of ſuch of the Chineſe characters, as moſt frequently occur, may be obtained by a foreigner; yet the ambiguity to which they are liable, on account of the frequent figurative expreſſions and ſubſtitution of metaphor for the literal meaning, renders their beſt compoſitions extremely obſcure. Another, and not the leaſt, difficulty to a learner of this language ariſes from the abridgment of the characters for the ſake of convenience, by which the eye is deprived of the chain that originally connected the component parts. In ſhort, it is a language where much is to be made out that is not expreſſed, and particularly ſo in what is called fine writing; and a thorough knowledge of it can only be acquired from a familiar acquaintance with the manners, cuſtoms, habits, and opinions of the people. Thoſe miſſionaries even, who have reſided in the country the beſt part of their lives, and accepted employments about the palace, are frequently at a loſs in tranſlating and compoſing the official papers that are neceſſary to be made out on the occaſion of an European embaſſy.

It is, however, a matter of ſurprize that, after all that has been publiſhed in Europe by the Jeſuits of the grandeur, the magnificence, the learning, and the philoſophy of the Chineſe, ſo very few perſons ſhould have taken the trouble to make themſelves acquainted with the language of this extraordinary nation. So little was a *profeſſor* of Chineſe, at Rome, verſed

in the language he profeſſed to know, that he is ſaid* to have miſtaken ſome characters found on a buſt of Iſis for Chineſe, which buſt and the characters were afterwards proved to be the work of a modern artiſt of Turin, made after his own fancy. In Great Britain we have known ſtill leſs of the Chineſe language and Chineſe literature than on the continent. It is not many years ago, that one of the ſmall copper coins of China, ſtamped in the reign, and with the name, of the late *Tchien-lung* (or as he is uſually called in the ſouthern dialect of China *Kien-long*) was picked up in a bog in Ireland, and being conſidered as a great curioſity, was carried to an indefatigable antiquary, whoſe reſearches have been of conſiderable uſe in inveſtigating the ancient hiſtory and language of that iſland. Not knowing the Chineſe character, nor their coin, it was natural enough for him to compare them with ſome language with which he was acquainted; and the concluſion he drew was, that the four following characters on the face were ancient Syriac; and that the reverſe (which are Man-tchoo letters) appeared to be aſtronomical, or taliſmanic characters, of which he could give no explanation.

Face.

Tchien-lung. *Pao-tung.* (Emperor's name.) Current value.

Reverſe.

po tchin. Houſe, or dynaſty, of *Tchin.*

* By Mr. Pauw.

The

The Man-tchoo Tartar characters of another coin he ſuppoſed to ſignify *pur*, which is conſtrued into *ſors*, or lot; and it is concluded, that theſe coins muſt either have been imported into Ireland by the Phœnicians, or manufactured in the country; in which caſe, the Iriſh muſt have had an oriental alphabet. "In either caſe," it is obſerved, "theſe medals contri-"bute more to authenticate the ancient hiſtory of Ireland than "all the volumes that have been written on the ſubject."

I have noticed this circumſtance, which is taken from the *Collectanea Hibernica*, in order to ſhew how little is known of the Chineſe character and language among the learned, when ſo good a ſcholar and eminent antiquary committed ſo great a miſtake.

The youth of China generally begin to ſtudy the language when they are about ſix years of age. Their firſt employment is to learn by name a certain number of eaſy characters, without any regard to the ſignification, or without underſtanding the meaning of one of them, conſequently, without adding to the mind one ſingle idea, for five or ſix years, except that of labour and difficulty. For the *name* of a character, it may be recollected, has no reference whatſoever to its *meaning*. Thus fifty-one different characters, of as many diſtinct ſignifications, have the ſame name of *ching*; and if ten or a dozen characters, bearing the ſound of *ching*, ſhould occur in the ſame page, the learner, in this ſtage of his education, is not inſtructed in the ſeveral meanings; his object is to acquire the ſound, but to neglect the ſenſe. I have been told, that a regular-bred ſcholar

is required to get by heart a very large volume of the works of Confucius ſo perfectly, that he may be able to turn to any paſſage or ſentence from hearing the ſound of the characters only, without his having one ſingle idea of their ſignification. The next ſtep is to form the characters, commencing by tracing, or going over, a certain number that are faintly drawn in red ink. As ſoon as they are able to cover theſe with tolerable accuracy, without deviating from the lines of the original, they then endeavour to imitate them on freſh paper. Theſe operations employ at leaſt four years more of their life. Thus, a young man of fourteen or ſixteen years of age, although he may be able to write a great number of characters, for each of which he can alſo give a name, yet, at the ſame time, he can affix no diſtinct idea to any one of them. The contrary method would appear adviſable of teaching them firſt the ſignification of the ſimple roots, and the analyſis of the compound characters, and afterwards the ſounds, or, perhaps, to let the one accompany the other.

Objections of a ſimilar nature to thoſe now mentioned againſt the mode of Chineſe education, have, it is true, been frequently ſtated with regard to the plan of educating youths in the public grammar ſchools of our own country; that ſome of the moſt precious years of their lives, when the faculties were in growing vigour, and the plaſtic mind moſt ſuſceptible of receiving and retaining impreſſions, are waſted in poring over the metaphyſics of a Latin Grammar, which they cannot poſſibly comprehend; and in learning by heart a number of declinations, conjugations, and ſyntax rules, which ſerve only

to puzzle and diſguſt, inſtead of affording inſtruction or amuſement: that the grammar, or philoſophical part of a language, is uſeful only for the niceties and perfection of that language, and not a ſubject for boys. In all inſtances, perhaps, where the language to be learned is made the common colloquial language of the pupil, the objections ſtated againſt the uſe of the grammar may have ſome weight. But as this is not the caſe with regard to the Greek and Latin languages in Europe, nor to the written character in China, which differs widely from the colloquial, long experience may, perhaps, in both caſes, have led to the adoption of the moſt eligible method *.

But a youth of Europe has a very material advantage over one of China, during the time in which he is ſaid to be poring over his Latin Grammar. He is in the daily habit of acquiring new ideas, from his knowledge of other languages. His mother-tongue ſupplies him with books, which he is able to comprehend, and from which he derives both entertainment and inſtruction. Without enumerating the great variety of theſe that daily engage his attention, I deem it ſufficient to obſerve,

* That the Chineſe method, however, is defective, may be inferred from the circumſtance of the preſent Sir George Staunton having not only acquired, in little more than twelve months, and at the age of twelve years, ſuch a number of words and phraſeology as to make himſelf underſtood, and to underſtand others on common topics of converſation, but he alſo learned to write the characters with ſuch facility and accuracy, that all the diplomatic papers of the Embaſſy addreſſed to the Chineſe government were copied by him (the Chineſe themſelves being afraid to let papers of ſo unuſual a ſtyle appear in their own hand-writing) in ſo neat and expeditious a manner as to occaſion great aſtoniſhment. It may be obſerved, however, that few youths of his age poſſeſs the talents, the attention, and the general information with which he was endowed.

that

that his Robinſon Cruſoe (the beſt book, with few exceptions, that can be put into a boy's hand) ſhews the numberleſs difficulties to which he is liable in the world, when the anxious cares of his parents have ceaſed to watch over him; it is there pointed out to him that, arduous as many undertakings may appear to be, few are inſurmountable; that the body and the mind of man are furniſhed with reſources which, by patience, diligence, prudence, and reflexion, will enable him to overcome the greateſt difficulties, and eſcape the moſt imminent dangers. His Tom Jones, however exceptionable in thoſe parts where human failings are repreſented under an amiable and alluring dreſs, leaves, upon the whole, a lively impreſſion in favour of generoſity and virtue, and ſeldom fails to excite an indignant glow againſt perfidy, ſelfiſhneſs, and brutality. The young Chineſe has no ſuch relief from his dry ſtudy of acquiring the names and repreſentations of things that to him have as yet no meaning. He knows not a word of any language but his own.

The laſt ſtep in the education of a Chineſe is to analyſe the characters, by the help of the dictionary, in the manner already mentioned, ſo that he now firſt begins to comprehend the uſe of the written character. Extracts from the works of their famous philoſopher *Cong-foo-tſe* (the Confucius of the miſſionaries) are generally put into his hands; beginning with thoſe that treat on moral ſubjects, in which are ſet forth, in ſhort ſentences, the praiſes of virtue, and the odiouſneſs of vice, with rules of conduct to be obſerved in the world. The *eternal mean*, in the ſtyle and manner of the maxims of Seneca, next follows; and

and the art of government, with an abridgment of the laws, completes him for taking his firſt degree, which generally happens when he has attained his twentieth year; but in order to be qualified for any high employment, he muſt ſtudy at leaſt ten years longer.

From this view of the written character, and the mode of education, it will readily occur, that little progreſs is likely to be made in any of the ſpeculative ſciences; and more eſpecially as their aſſiſtance is not neceſſary to obtain the moſt elevated ſituations in the government. The examinations to be paſſed for the attainment of office are principally confined to the knowledge of the language; and as far as this goes, they are rigid to the utmoſt degree. The candidates are put into ſeparate apartments, having previouſly been ſearched, in order to aſcertain that they have no writing of any kind about them. They are allowed nothing but pencils, ink, and paper, and within a given time they are each to produce a theme on the ſubject that ſhall be propoſed to them. The excellence of the compoſition, which is ſubmitted to the examining officers, or men of letters, depends chiefly on the following points.

That every character be neatly and accurately made.

That each character be well choſen, and not in vulgar uſe.

That the ſame character do not occur twice in the ſame compoſition.

The

The ſubject and the manner of treating it are of the leaſt conſideration, but thoſe on morality, or hiſtory, are generally preferred. If the following ſtory, as communicated by one of the miſſionaries, and related, I believe, by the Abbé Grozier, be true, there requires no further illuſtration of the ſtate of literature in China. " A candidate for preferment having inad-
" vertently made uſe of an abreviation in writing the character
" *ma* (which ſignifies a *horſe*) had not only the mortification of
" ſeeing his compoſition, very good in every other reſpect,
" rejected ſolely on that account; but, at the ſame time, was
" ſeverely rallied by the cenſor, who, among other things,
" aſked him how he could poſſibly expect his horſe to walk
" without having all his legs!"

The conſtruction of the colloquial, or ſpoken language, is extremely ſimple. It admits of no inflexion of termination, either in the verb, or in the noun, each word being the ſame invariable monoſyllable in number, in gender, in caſe, mood, and tenſe; and, as moſt of theſe monoſyllables begin with a conſonant and end with a vowel, except a few that terminate in *l*, *n*, or *ng*, the number of ſuch ſounds, or ſimple ſyllables, is very limited. To an European they do not exceed three hundred and fifty. But a Chineſe, by early habit, has acquired greater power over the organs of ſpeech, and can ſo modulate his voice as to give to the ſame monoſyllable five or ſix diſtinct tones of ſound; ſo that he can utter at leaſt twelve or thirteen hundred radical words, which, with the compounds, are found to be fully ſufficient for expreſſing all his wants.

On

On this curious ſubject I am enabled to ſpeak with great accuracy, through the kindneſs of Sir George Staunton, to whom, indeed, I am indebted for more information in this work than I am allowed to acknowledge. From the beſt manuſcript Chineſe dictionary in his poſſeſſion, he has obligingly taken the trouble to draw out the following abſtract of all the ſimple ſounds, or words, in the Chineſe language, together with their inflexions or accentuations, by which they are extended as far as any tongue can poſſibly articulate, or the niceſt ear diſcriminate. The firſt column ſhews all the initial letters, or their powers in the language; the ſecond, the number of terminations, or the remaining part of the monoſyllable beſide the initial; and the third, expreſſes the number of monoſyllabic ſounds that may be given to each by inflexion, or modulation of voice, and by making uſe of aſpirates.

	Initials. Power.	Number of terminations to each.	Number of inflexions or accentuations.
1	Ch. as in Child.	20	131 including aſpirates.
2	F.	10	30 no aſpirates.
3	G.	11	32 no aſpirates.
4	between H. & S.	36	114 all ſtrong aſpirates.
5	Y.	16	61 no aſpirates.
6	J. as in French *Jour*	14	34 no aſpirates.
7	K.	37	206 including aſpirates.
8	L.	25	66 no aſpirates.
9	M.	22	58 no aſpirates.
10	N.	23	56 no aſpirates.
11	O.	1	2 no aſpirates.
12	P.	21	104 including aſpirates.
13	S.	29	86 no aſpirates.
14	T.	17	105 including aſpirates.
15	Ts.	28	147 including aſpirates.
16	between V and W.	13	39 no aſpirates.
17	Sh.	19	60 no aſpirates.
17		342	1331

So that in the whole colloquial language of China, an European may make out 342 ſimple monoſyllabic ſounds, which by the help of aſpirates, inflexions of voice, or accentuations, are capable of being increaſed by a Chineſe to 1331 words. And as the written language is ſaid to contain 80,000 characters, and each character has a name, it will follow, that, on an average, 60 characters, of ſo many different ſignifications, muſt neceſſarily be called by the ſame monoſyllabic name. Hence, a compoſition if read would be totally unintelligible to the ear, and muſt be ſeen to be underſtood. The monoſyllabic ſound aſſigned to each character is applied to ſo many different meanings, that in its unconnected ſtate it may be ſaid to have no meaning at all.

In the buſineſs of common life, the nice inflexions or modulations, that are required to make out theſe thirteen hundred words, may amply be expreſſed in about fifteen thouſand characters, ſo that each monoſyllabic ſound will, in this caſe, on an average, admit of about twelve diſtinct ſignifications. This recurrence of the ſame words muſt neceſſarily cauſe great ambiguity in converſation, and it frequently indeed leads to ridiculous miſtakes, eſpecially by foreigners. Thus, a ſober miſſionary, intending to paſs the night at a peaſant's houſe, aſked as he thought for a *mat*, but was very much ſurpriſed on ſeeing his hoſt preſenting him with a *young girl*; theſe two objects, ſo very different from one another, being ſignified by two words whoſe pronunciations are not diſtinguiſhable, and conſequently one or the other requires to be uſed with an adjunct.

It

It was a ſource of daily amuſement to our conductors, to hear the *equivoques* we made in attempting to ſpeak their language. A Chineſe, when the ſenſe is doubtful, will draw the character, or the root of it, in the air with his finger or fan, by which he makes himſelf at once underſtood.

But as ſome of theſe monoſyllabic words, as I have obſerved of *ching*, have not leſs than fifty diſtinct ſignifications, which the niceſt tones and inflexions, even of a Chineſe voice, are not able to diſcriminate, ſuch words are generally converted into compounds, by adding a ſecond ſyllable, bearing ſome relative ſenſe to the firſt, by which the meaning is at once determined. Among the ſignifications, for inſtance, of the monoſyllable *foo* is that of *father*, to which, for the ſake of diſtinction, as *foo* has many ſignifications beſide that of father, they add the ſyllable *chin*, implying *kindred;* thus, a Chineſe in ſpeaking of his parents invariably ſays *foo-chin* for father, and *moo-chin* for mother; but, in writing, the character of *chin* would be conſidered as an unneceſſary expletive, that of *foo* being very differently made from any other called by the ſame name.

The grammar of this language may briefly be explained. The noun, as obſerved, is indeclinable; the particles *te* or *tié*, mark the genitive, and always follow the noun; *cu* the dative, which it precedes, and *tung* or *tſung* the ablative, before which they are alſo placed. As for example,

Nom. *gai* love
Gen. *gai-te* of love.
Dat. *cu-gai* to love.

Acc. *gai* love.

Abl. *tung* or *tsung gai*, from or by love. And the ſame in the plural.

Give me *your* book,
Keu go NE-TE *ſhoo.*
Dear *to* men,
Quei EU *jin.*
Come you *with* him,
Ne-lai TUNG *ta.*

The adjective is alſo formed from the genitive of the noun as *pai*, whiteneſs; *pai-tié* white; *je* heat; *je-tié* hot; *lee*, reaſon; *lee-tié*, rational; *hau* goodneſs; *hau-tié*, good. But when the adjective precedes the noun, as it generally does, the particle *tié* is omitted as,

hau jin, a good man.
pai-ma, a white horſe.
je-ſwee, hot water.

The plural of nouns is expreſſed by prefixing ſome word ſignifying plurality, as *to-jin*, many men; *to-to jin*, a multitude of men; *chung jin*, all men; and ſometimes by a repetition of the word as *jin-jin*, men.

Adjectives are compared by placing the particle *keng* before the comparative, as

yeou, ſoft; *keng yeou*, ſofter.
hau, good; *keng hau*, better.
My book is *newer* than yours,
Go-te ſhoo KENG *ſin ne-te.*

The

The ſuperlative is marked by various particles, ſometimes preceding, and ſometimes following, the adjective, and it is alſo formed by repeating the poſitive, as

hau, *hau-tié*, very good.
whang-whang-tié, very yellow.

The perſonal pronouns are,

ngo (naſal) or *go*, *ne*, *ta*, *go-men*, *ne-men*, *ta-men*.
I, thou, he, we, ye, they.

And they become poſſeſſives, in the ſame manner as nouns are changed into adjectives, by the addition of *te* or *tié*, as

go-te, *ne-te*, *ta-te*, *go-men-te*, *ne-men-te*, *ta-men-te*.
mine, thine, his, ours, yours, theirs.

The verb has likewiſe neither conjugation nor inflection; and the tenſes, or times of action or paſſion, are limited to three; the preſent, the paſt, and the future. The preſent is ſignified ſimply by the verb, as *go lai*, I come; the paſt, is expreſſed by the particle *leo*, as *go lai leo*, I did come, or I have come; and the future is formed by placing the particle *yau* before the verb, as *go yau lai*, I will come; or, when ſomething very determined is meant to be expreſſed, the compound *yuen-y* precedes the verb, as *go yuen-y-lai* I am determined to come. It may be obſerved, however, that although theſe, and other particles ſignifying the time and mode of action, are neceſſary in common ſpeech, yet, in fine writing, they are entirely omitted, which is another cauſe of the obſcurity and difficulty that occur to ſtrangers in the ſtudy of the Chineſe character.

The two negatives *mo* and *poo*, are of great uſe in the ſpoken language. The firſt is generally uſed with the verb *yeu* to have, and always implies a want or deficiency, as, *mo yeu nai*, there is no milk; *mo yeu tcha*, you can have no tea, I have no tea, there is no tea, &c. *Poo* is generally uſed to expreſs qualities of an oppoſite nature, as, *hau*, good; *poo hau*, bad; *je*, hot; *poo je*, cold; *ta*, great; *poo ta*, little. The uſual ſalutation between friends is *hau-poo-hau*, well, or not well?

The limits I have preſcribed for the preſent work will not allow me to enter into a more detailed account of this ſingular language. What has been ſaid may ſerve to convey a general idea of the written character, and the ſimple conſtruction of the ſpoken language. I ſhall now endeavour, in a few words, to explain the nature and conſtruction of the Man-tchoo Tartar character, which, if the preſent family continue on the throne for a century longer, will, in all probability, ſupplant the Chineſe, or will at leaſt become the court language. In the enunciation it is full, ſonorous, and far from being diſagreeable, more like the Greek than any of the oriental languages; and it abounds with all thoſe letters which the Chineſe have rejected, particularly with the letters B and R. It is alphabetic, or, more properly ſpeaking, ſyllabic, and the different parts of ſpeech are ſuſceptible of expreſſing number, caſe, gender, time, modes of action, paſſion, and other accidents, ſimilar to thoſe of European languages. This is effected either by change of termination, prepoſition, or interpoſition. The character is extremely beautiful, and it is written, like the Chineſe, in perpendicular columns,

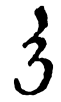
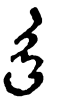
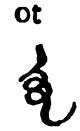
columns, but beginning on the left ſide of the paper inſtead of the right, as is the caſe in writing the former language.

The elements of the language are comprized in twelve claſſes of ſimple ſounds or monoſyllables, from the different combinations of which all the words of the Mantchoo language are formed.

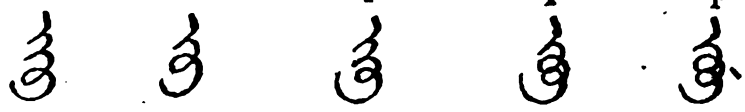
Theſe claſſes are diſtinguiſhed by the terminations.

The firſt claſs ends in, a, e, i, o, u, pronounced exactly as the Italian.
The ſecond, in ai, ei, iei, oi, ui.
The third, in ar, er, ir, or, ur, air, &c.
The fourth, in an, en, in, &c.
The fifth, in ang, eng, ing, &c.
The ſixth, in ak, ek, ik, &c.
The ſeventh, in as, es, is, &c.
The eighth, in at, et, it, &c.
The ninth, in ap, ep, ip, &c.
The tenth, in au, eu, iu, ou.
The elventh, in al, el, il, &c.
The twelfth, in am, em, im, &c.
The initials are, A. E. F. H. I. K. L. M. N. O. P. R. S. T. U. Y.

To give ſome idea of the character, I ſubjoin the written elements.

1ſt Claſs.	a	e	i	o	u
					
2d Claſs.	ai	ei	iei	oi	ui
3d Claſs.	ar	er	ir	or	ur
4th Claſs.	an	en	in	on	un
5th Claſs.	ang	eng	ing	ong	ung
					
6th Claſs.	ak	ek	ik	ok	uk
7th Claſs.	as	es	is	os	us
8th Claſs.	at	et	it	ot	ut
					
					9th

9th Claſs. ap ep ip op up



10th Claſs. au eu iu ou uu

11th Claſs. al el il ol ul

12th Claſs. am em im om um

The initial characters are repreſented by reſpective marks, which being joined to theſe elementary terminations, generally at the upper extremity, give all the monoſyllabic ſounds, and the junction of theſe according to their various combinations all the words in the Mantchoo language. One example will be ſufficient to ſhew the nature of ſuch compoſition; thus the initials P. T. L. S. F. ſet before the 12th claſs of radicals, will ſtand as follows:

Pam Tem Lim Som Fum

And

And if each of theſe ſyllables be reſpectively added to the 5th claſs, they will ſtand thus:

Pamang Temeng Liming Somong Fumung

Of the ſtate of their literature, and progreſs in ſcience, I have little to obſerve. The nature of the language will almoſt itſelf determine theſe points. With reſpect to any branch of polite literature, or ſpeculative ſcience, little improvement ſeems to have been made in the laſt two thouſand years. Indeed, there are no works in the whole empire, modern or ancient, that are ſo much eſteemed, ſo much ſtudied, and I may perhaps add, ſo little comprehended, as the five claſſical books collected and commented upon by their great philoſopher *Cong-foo-tſe*, who lived about 450 years before the Chriſtian æra; and theſe certainly are very extraordinary productions for the time in which they were written. Theſe works and a few writings of their favourite maſter, according to the annals of the country, eſcaped the general deſtruction of books, when the barbarous *She-whang-te* ordered all the monuments of learning to be burnt, except ſuch as treated of medicine and agriculture, about 200 years before Chriſt, for the abſurd purpoſe, as they ſtate, that he might be conſidered by poſterity as the firſt civilized Emperor which had governed China, and that the records of its hiſtory might, by this mean artifice, appear to commence with his reign.

Admitting

Admitting ſuch an event to have happened which, however, may be conſidered as doubtful, the ſuppoſition involves in it this neceſſary conſequence, that the ſtock of learning at that time muſt have been very confined. It is ſcarcely poſſible, otherwiſe, how one perſon, near the end of his reign, could have contrived to aſſemble together all the works of art and literature, diſperſed through ſo large a tract of country and ſo enlightened as it was then ſuppoſed to be. There were, beſides, other independent ſovereigns in the country, over whom he had little or no controul, ſo that it is very probable the commonwealth of letters ſuffered no great loſs by the burning of the Chineſe books. When the Caliph Omar commanded the Alexandrian library to be deſtroyed, which the pride and the learning of the Ptolemy family had collected from every part of the world, literature ſuſtained an irreparable loſs; but, although the tyrant had the power to conſign to eternal oblivion the works of ſcience, yet he had no power over the principles upon which theſe works were conſtructed. Theſe principles had ſpread themſelves wide over the world. The expedition of Alexander carried the learning of the Egyptians and the Greeks into various countries of Aſia, where they continued to flouriſh. And when the tyranny and oppreſſion of the ſeventh Ptolemy (Phyſcon) forced the Alexandrians to abandon a city that was perpetually ſtreaming with the blood of its citizens, they found an aſylum in the Grecian ſtates and in different parts of Aſia. And as this ſanguinary tyrant, in the midſt of his cruelties, pretended and indeed ſhewed a fondneſs for literature, the arts and the ſciences flouriſhed even in his reign: the migrations, therefore, at this time, from the capital of Egypt, were

of the greateſt importance and uſe to thoſe nations among whom the refugees ſettled. Unluckily for China, the wild mountainous foreſts towards the ſouth, and the wide ſandy deſerts to the north, that render any communication extremely difficult between this empire and the reſt of Aſia, together with their diſlike for foreigners, ſeem, at this time, to have checked the progreſs of thoſe arts and ſciences which had long flouriſhed in Europe and in Africa. Their hiſtory, at leaſt, is ſilent as to any communication with India, till a century nearly after the commencement of the Chriſtian æra, when the religion of Budha found its way from Thibet into China.

Whether the burning of the works of the learned in China did or did not happen, appears, as already obſerved, to admit of ſome doubt; but the antiquity, and the authenticity, of the five *king*, or claſſics, ſeem to be ſufficiently eſtabliſhed. And conſidering the early periods in which they were written, they certainly demonſtrate a very ſuperior degree of civilization. It has been obſerved that, in this country, the arts, the ſciences, and literature, are not progreſſive; and the five *king* would lead one to conclude, that they have rather even been retrograde than ſtationary. The names of theſe works are:

1. *Shoo-king.* A collection of records and annals of various princes, commencing more than 2000 years before Chriſt.

2. *Shee-king.* Odes, ſonnets, and maxims; moſt of them ſo abundant in metaphor, and ſo obſcure, that much of the ſenſe is to be made out by the tranſlator.

3. *Ye-*

3. *Ye-king.* The perfect and the broken lines of *Fo-ſhee;* the moſt ancient relict in China, and perhaps the firſt attempt at written language: now perfectly incomprehenſible.

4. *Chung-choo.* Spring and autumn. The hiſtory of ſome of the kings of *Loo*: the work principally of *Cong-foo-tſe.*

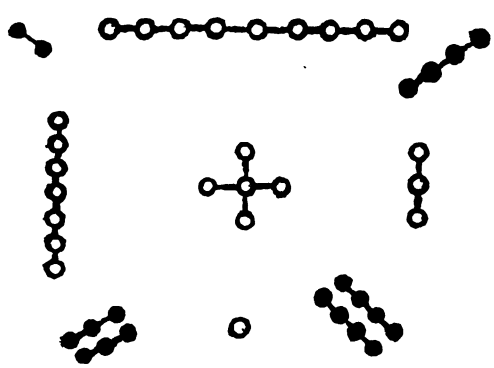
5. *Lee-kee.* Ceremonies and moral duties. A compilation of *Cong-foo-tſe.*

The lines of *Fo-ſhee* puzzled even the great philoſopher of the country, who declared himſelf diſſatisfied with all the explanations of the commentators. The learned and ingenious Leibnitz fancied he diſcovered in them a ſyſtem of binary arithmetic, by which all the operations and reſults of numbers might be performed, with the help of two figures only, the cypher or zero 0, and an unit 1, the former being conſidered as the conſtant multiple of the latter, as 10 is of the unit. Thus 1 would ſtand for 1, 10 for two, 11 for three, 100 for four, and ſo on. It is unneceſſary to obſerve, with how many inconveniencies ſuch a ſyſtem would be attended when reduced to practice. This diſcovery of the binary ſeries, which the mathematician, in all probability, conſidered only as a philoſophical plaything, was communicated to Father Bouvet the Jeſuit who, happening at that time to be engaged in decyphering the lines of *Fo-ſhee*, caught the idea and in an extacy of joy proclaimed to the world that Leibnitz had ſolved the *Fo-ſheean* riddle.

The

The miſſionaries of the Romiſh church are ſo accuſtomed to the myſteries with which their religion abounds, that every thing they meet with, and do not underſtand, among a ſtrange people, is alſo reſolved into a myſtery. Thus, the following figure, which the Chineſe, in alluſion to the regular lines deſcribed on the back-ſhell of ſome of the tortoiſes, metaphorically call the myſtic tortoiſe, has been ſuppoſed by ſome of theſe gentlemen to contain the moſt ſublime doctrines of Chineſe philoſophy; that they embrace a ſummary of all that is perfect and imperfect, repreſent the numbers of heaven and earth, and ſuch like jargon, which, it obviouſly appears, is no leſs unintelligible to themſelves than to their readers.

Theſe famous lines, ſuppoſed to be found on the back of a tortoiſe, are the following:



Who does not perceive, at a ſingle glance, in this figure the common ſchool-boy's trick of the magic ſquare, or placing the nine digits ſo that they ſhall make the ſum of fifteen every way, thus,

2	9	4
7	5	3
6	1	8

and what are the perfect and imperfect numbers, but the odd and even digits diſtinguiſhed by open and cloſe points? In like manner, I am inclined to believe, the ſeveral ways of placing theſe open and cloſe points that occur in Chineſe books are literally nothing more than the different combinations of the nine numerical figures, for which they are ſubſtituted.

Moſt of the other *king* have been tranſlated, wholly or in part, and publiſhed in France. It may be obſerved, however, that all the Chineſe writings, tranſlated by the miſſionaries, have undergone ſo great a change in their European dreſs, that they ought rather to be looked upon as originals than tranſlations. It is true, a literal tranſlation would be nonſenſe, but there is a great difference between giving the meaning of an author, and writing a commentary upon him. Sir William Jones obſerves that the only method of doing juſtice to the poetical compoſitions of the Aſiatics, is to give firſt a verbal and then a metrical verſion. The moſt barren ſubject, under his elegant pen, becomes replete with beauties. The following ſtanza, from one of the odes of the *ſhee-king*, is an inſtance of this remark. It is calculated to have been written about the age of Homer; and it conſiſts of fifteen characters.

The peach-tree, how fair, how graceful, its leaves, how blooming,

ing, how pleaſant[7]; ſuch[8] is a bride[9], when[10] ſhe enters[11] her bridegroom's houſe[12], and attends[13] to[14] her whole family[15].

This is a fair tranſlation, as no more expletives are inſerted than ſuch as were neceſſary to make up the ſenſe, and it is thus paraphraſed by Sir William Jones.

"Gay child of Spring, the garden's queen,
"Yon peach tree charms the roving ſight;
"Its fragrant leaves how richly green!
"Its bloſſoms, how divinely bright!

"So ſoftly ſmiles the blooming bride,
"By love and conſcious virtue led,
"O'er her new manſion to preſide,
"And placid joys around her ſpread."

The late Emperor *Kien-Long* was conſidered among the beſt poets of modern times, and the moſt celebrated of his compoſitions is an ode in praiſe of Tea, which has been painted on all the teapots in the empire. The following is a verbal tranſlation, with ſuch auxiliaries only as were neceſſary to make the ſenſe complete.

"On a ſlow fire ſet a tripod, whoſe colour and texture ſhew "its long uſe; fill it with clear ſnow water; boil it as long as "would be neceſſary to turn fiſh white, and crayfiſh red; "throw it upon the delicate leaves of choice tea, in a cup of "*yooé* (a particular ſort of porcelain). Let it remain as long "as the vapour riſes in a cloud, and leaves only a thin miſt "floating on the ſurface. At your eaſe, drink this precious li-"quor, which will chaſe away the five cauſes of trouble. We

can

" can taſte and feel, but not deſcribe, the ſtate of repoſe pro-
" duced by a liquor thus prepared."

He wrote, likewiſe, a long deſcriptive poem on the city and country of Moukden, in Mantchoo Tartary, which has been tranſlated by ſome of the miſſionaries, and appears to poſſeſs much more merit than his ode on tea, of which, however, it is difficult to judge without a thorough knowledge of the language, asthe o de may owe its chief beauties and its fame more to the choice of the characters than to the ſounds, literal ſenſe, or verſification. To an European the Chineſe language appears to have few elegancies: it wants all the little auxiliaries that add grace and energy to thoſe of Europe. In the Chineſe the beauty of an expreſſion depends entirely on the choice of the character, and not on any ſelection or arrangement of the monoſyllabic ſounds. A character uniting a happy aſſociation of ideas has the ſame effect upon the eye of the Chineſe, as a general theorem expreſſed in ſymbols has on a mathematician; but in both caſes a man muſt be learned to feel the beauties of the conciſe expreſſion. Even in ſpeaking the language has few expletives. " Engliſh good, Chineſe better,"—" to-day go, to-morrow come,"—" ſea no bound, Kiang no bottom;—" well, not well;"—are modes of expreſſion in which an European will not find much elegance.

In addition to the defects of the language, there is another reaſon why poetry is not likely ever to become a favourite purſuit, or to be cultivated with ſucceſs, among the Chineſe. The ſtate of ſociety we have ſeen to be ſuch as entirely to exclude

the paſſion of love. A man, in this country, marries only from neceſſity, or for the ſake of obtaining an heir to his property, who may ſacrifice to his manes, or becauſe the maxims of the government have made it diſgraceful to remain in a ſtate of celibacy. The fine ſentiments that ariſe from the mutual endearment of two perſons enamoured of each other can therefore have no place in the breaſt of a Chineſe: and it is to the effuſions of a heart thus circumſtanced, that poetry owes ſome of its greateſt charms. Nor can they be conſidered as a nation of warriors; and war, next to love, has ever been the favourite theme of the muſes.

The language is much better adapted to the conciſe ſtyle of ethics, than the ſublime flights of poetry. The moral precepts of Cong-foo-tſe diſplay an excellent mind in the writer, and would do honour to any age and nation. The following will ſerve as a ſpecimen of his ſubjects, ſtyle, and manner.

"There is one clear rule of conduct: to act with ſincerity; and "to conform with all one's ſoul, and with all one's ſtrength, to "this univerſal rule—do not any thing to another, that you "would not wiſh another ſhould do to you."

How conformable is this ſentiment as well as the words in which it is expreſſed, to that of the great Author of our religion; a religion whoſe "ways are ways of pleaſantneſs, and all whoſe "paths are peace."

"Five

" Five things ought to be well obſerved in the world: " Juſtice between the prince and the ſubject; affection be- " tween father and ſon; fidelity between man and wife; ſub- " ordination among brothers; concord among friends.

" There are three radical virtues: prudence to diſcern, uni- " verſal benevolence to embrace (all mankind); courage to " ſuſtain.

" What paſſes in a man's mind is unknown to others: if you " are wiſe, take great care of what none but yourſelf can ſee.

" Examples are better for the people than precepts.

" A wiſe man is his own moſt ſevere cenſor: he is his own " accuſer, his own evidence, and his own judge."

" A nation may accompliſh more by bravery than by fire " and water. I never knew a people periſh, who had courage " for their ſupport."

" An upright man will not purſue a crooked path; he follows " the ſtraight road, and walks therein ſecure."

Having taken this ſhort view of their language and literature, I ſhall now proceed to ſhew the preſent ſtate of the arts and ſciences, as far as the communications I had not only with the miſſionaries, but alſo with ſome of the moſt learned Chineſe, will allow me to pronounce on theſe points. The obſervations

I have to make muſt of courſe be very general; minute particulars will not be expected in a work of this nature. There is no branch of ſcience which the Chineſe affect to value ſo much, and underſtand ſo little, as aſtronomy. The neceſſity indeed of being able to mark, with ſome degree of preciſion, the returns of the ſeaſons and certain periods, in ſo large a community, muſt have directed an early attention of the government to this ſubject; and accordingly we find, that an aſtronomical board has formed one of the ſtate eſtabliſhments from the earlieſt periods of their hiſtory. Yet ſo little progreſs have they made in this ſcience, that the only part of its functions, which can be called aſtronomical, has long been committed to the care of foreigners, whom they affect to hold in contempt and to conſider as barbarians. The principal object of this board is to frame and to publiſh a national calendar, and to point out to the government the ſuitable times and ſeaſons for its important undertakings. Even when the marriage of a prince or princeſs of the blood is about to take place, the commiſſioners of aſtronomy muſt appoint a fortunate day for the celebration of the nuptials, which is announced in form in the Pekin Gazette.

In this important almanack, as in the Greek and Roman calendars, are inſerted all the ſuppoſed lucky and unlucky days in the year, predictions of the weather, days proper for taking medicine, commencing journies, taking home a wife, laying the foundation of a houſe, and other matters of moment, for entering upon which particular times are aſſigned. To the ſuperintendency of the Chineſe members of this auguſt tribunal is committed the aſtrological part, a committee of whom is ſelected annually

annually for the execution of this important taſk. Whether the men of letters, as they call themſelves, really believe in the abſurdities of judicial aſtrology, or whether they may think it neceſſary to encourage the obſervance of popular ſuperſtitions, on political conſiderations, I will not take upon me to decide. If, however, they ſhould happen to poſſeſs any ſuch ſuperior knowledge, great credit is due to them for acting the farce with ſuch apparent earneſtneſs, and with ſo much ſolemnity. The duration of the ſame ſyſtem has certainly been long enough for them to have diſcovered, that the multitude are more effectually governed by opinion than by power.

The phenomena of the heavenly bodies, to an enlightened and intelligent mind, furniſh the moſt grand and ſublime ſpectacle in nature; to the ignorant and ſuperſtitious, the moſt awful. The common people of all countries, and in all ages, have conſidered the occaſional privation of the light of the two great luminaries of heaven as the forerunners of ſome extraordinary event, whilſt the more intelligent part of the community have turned theſe ſuperſtitious notions to their advantage. Thales is ſaid to have been able to calculate the returns of eclipſes ſix hundred years before the birth of Chriſt; of courſe, he was well acquainted with the cauſes by which they were produced; yet his countrymen were always filled with ſuperſtition and terror on the event of an eclipſe. Plutarch has obſerved that Pericles learned from Anaxagoras to overcome the terrors which the various phenomena of the heavens inſpired into thoſe who knew not their cauſes; and he mentions a ſtrik-

ing

ing proof which he gave of this knowledge, on his expedition againſt Peloponneſus, when there happened an eclipſe of the ſun. The ſudden darkneſs, being conſidered as an omen unfavourable to the object of the expedition, occaſioned a general conſternation. Pericles, obſerving the pilot of his own galley to be frightened and confuſed, took his cloak and placed it before his eyes, aſking him at the ſame time if he found any thing alarming, or of evil preſage, in what he then did? and upon his anſwering in the negative: "Where then is the difference," ſaid Pericles, "between this covering and the other, except "that ſomething of greater extent than my cloak deprives us of "the light of the ſun?" Nor can it be doubted that Alexander when, on a like occaſion, previous to the battle of Arbêla, he commanded a ſacrifice to be made to the ſun, the moon, and the earth, as being the three powers to which eclipſes were owing, did it merely to appeaſe the ſuperſtitious notions of his army. To ſuppoſe him ignorant of their cauſes, would be paying an ill compliment to his great maſter. Thus it might have been with regard to the Chineſe government, which, whether through ignorance or policy, ſtill continues to obſerve with the greateſt ſolemnity the ſame ceremonies, or nearly ſo, on the event of an eclipſe, which were in uſe among the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, near two thouſand years ago. When the moon was darkened by an eclipſe, their drums and clarions and trumpets were ſounded, under the notion that, by their ſhrill and loud noiſe, they might aſſiſt in relieving the labouring goddeſs.

" A vaſt eclipſe darkens the neighbouring planet,
" Sound there, ſound all our inſtruments of war;
" Clarions and trumpets, ſilver, braſs, and iron,
" And beat a thouſand drums to help her labour."

The brazen gong is violently beat by the Chineſe on the ſame occaſion; and that ſuch an event may not paſs unobſerved, and the luminary thereby be deprived of the uſual aſſiſtance of muſic, to frighten away or to charm the dragon, which they ſuppoſe to have ſeized upon it, the great officers of ſtate in every city and principal town are inſtructed to give public notice of the time it will happen, according to the calculations of the national almanack. A rude projection of a lunar eclipſe, that happened whilſt we were at *Tong-choo*, was ſtuck up in the corners of the ſtreets; all the officers were in mourning, and all buſineſs was ſuſpended for that day. When the Dutch Embaſſadors were in Pekin, the ſun was eclipſed on the 21ſt of January 1795, which happened to be the firſt day of their new year: a day obſerved through the whole empire with the greateſt feſtivity and rejoicing; and almoſt the only day on which the bulk of the people refrain from their reſpective occupations. The Embaſſador and his ſuite were ſummoned to court at the uſual hour of three in the morning. On arriving at the palace they were told that, in conſequence of an eclipſe of the ſun, which was about to happen on that day and which was a moſt unfortunate event, portending an unhappy year to their country, the Emperor would not be viſible for three days, during which time the whole court would go into mourning; that the amuſements, feaſts, and entertainments uſual on this particular

cular day would be ſuſpended from one end of the empire to the other.

Before an eclipſe happens, the members of the mathematical board and other learned men in office aſſemble near the palace, each having in his hand a ſketch of the obſcuration, in order to witneſs the truth of the aſtronomer's calculation. But if theſe people were not all intereſted in making the calculation to agree with the time and other circumſtances of the eclipſe, the aſtronomers would run no great hazard of being detected in an error, provided it was not a very glaring one, as they have no inſtruments for meaſuring time with any tolerable degree of accuracy. The moment the eclipſe begins, they all fall down on their knees, and bow their heads nine times to the ground, during which is ſtruck up a horrible craſh of gongs, kettle-drums, trumpets, and other noiſy inſtruments, intended to ſcare the devouring dragon.

From the obſervance of ſuch extravagant ceremonies it would not be fair to infer their total ignorance of the principles of aſtronomy; but that ſuch is really the caſe, the latter part of their hiſtory furniſhes abundant teſtimony. In the thirteenth century, when Gen-gis Khan the Mongul Tartar firſt entered China, and his ſucceſſor Kublai Khan effected the conqueſt of the country, the greateſt diſorder and confuſion prevailed in their chronology. They were neither able to regulate the reckoning of time, nor to ſettle the limits of the different provinces, nor even to aſcertain the diviſions of lands as allotted to the ſeveral diſtricts. Kublai, according to their own annals, held out encouragement

couragement for learned men to frequent his court from every part of the world, and through the means of the miſſionaries, both of the Chriſtian and Mahomedan faith, but principally the latter, and perhaps ſtill more through the deſcendants of the Greeks, who anciently ſettled in Bactriana, many important improvements were then introduced into China. He cauſed a regular ſurvey to be taken of the whole empire. He adjuſted their chronology, and corrected the errors of their aſtronomical obſervations; he imported various mathematical and aſtronomical inſtruments from Balk and Samarcand; ſuch as were then in uſe among the Chineſe being of a rude conſtruction, and unfit to make obſervations of the heavenly bodies with any tolerable degree of accuracy; and he repaired the grand communication by water that connects the northern with the ſouthern extremities of the empire, a work, in the contemplation of which the mind is not more ſtrongly impreſſed with the grandeur and magnitude of the object, than with the pleaſing ſenſe of its important utility.

In ſome of the early accounts of China, publiſhed in Europe, we find the deſcription of certain inſtruments, ſaid to have been diſcovered on a mountain near the city of Nankin, and afterwards placed by the Chineſe partly in that capital and partly in Pekin. On a more accurate examination of thoſe inſtruments it appeared, that they had all been conſtructed for ſome particular place lying under the 37th parallel of latitude; from whence it followed, that all the obſervations made with them at Pekin, which is in 39°. 55′. north, as well as all thoſe made at Nankin in 32°. 4′. north, muſt have been entirely falſe:

and the very act of placing them ſo diſtant from the parallel for which they were conſtructed, is in itſelf a ſufficient proof of the ignorance of the Chineſe in matters of this kind. Mr. Pauw has given the moſt probable conjecture reſpecting thoſe inſtruments. He ſuppoſes them to have been made at Balk, in Bactriana, by ſome of thoſe Greeks who obtained the government of that province under the ſucceſſors of Alexander, and that they had paſſed into China during the period of the Mongul government.

The death of Kublai Khan was ſpeedily followed by the total expulſion of the Tartars from China; and moſt probably, at the ſame time, of all thoſe learned men they had been the means of introducing into the country; for when the empire was again ſubdued by the Mantchoo Tartars, whoſe race now fills the throne, *Sun-chee*, the firſt Emperor of the preſent dynaſty, obſerves in an edict publiſhed by him in 1650, that ſince the expulſion of the Monguls, the Chineſe had not been able to make a correct almanack; and that error had been accumulating on error in their aſtronomical obſervations and chronology. At this time, ſome Mahomedans were again found to ſuperintend the conſtruction of the calendar; but the office devolving, at length, upon a Chineſe, the unfortunate almanack-maker happened to inſert a falſe intercalation, aſſigning thirteen months to the year 1670, when it ſhould have contained no more than twelve. This miſtake was an event too fortunate to be overlooked by ſome catholic miſſionaries who, at that time, happened to be in the capital. They ſaw the advantages to be derived from convincing the Tartars of the ignorance of the Chineſe

Chineſe in a matter of the laſt importance to the government, and they had little doubt of ſucceſs, where prejudice was already operating in their favour. In ſhort, the Europeans ſucceeded; the almanacks of that year were declared defective, were called in, a new edition printed off, and the poor almanack-maker is ſaid to have been ſtrangled.

Four German Jeſuits were then appointed to fill the vacant places in the tribunal of mathematics; and, being men of learning, they proved of no ſmall uſe at court. After theſe the Portugueſe ſucceeded to the appointments of regulating the calendar, three of whom, as already obſerved, are now entruſted with this important office. Fortunately for theſe gentlemen, the Chineſe have no means of detecting any little inaccuracies that may happen in their calculations. I ſaw, and converſed with, numbers of their learned men at the palace of *Yuen-min-yuen*, but I can ſafely ſay, that not a ſingle Chineſe, nor a Tartar, who ſhewed themſelves there, were poſſeſſed of the ſlighteſt knowledge of aſtronomy, nor one who could explain any of the various phenomena of the heavenly bodies. Aſtronomy with them conſiſts entirely in a certain jargon of judicial aſtrology; and they remain firmly attached to the belief of the doctrines of their great philoſopher, delivered more than two thouſand years ago, which teach them that "the heaven is round, the earth a "ſquare fixed in the middle; the other four elements placed "at its four ſides: water to the north; fire to the ſouth; wood "to the eaſt; and metal to the weſt:" and they believe the ſtars to be ſtuck, like ſo many nails, at equal diſtances from the earth, in the blue vault of heaven.

As to the numerous eclipſes taken notice of in the records of the country, they are mere regiſters, noted down whenever they happened, and not predictions or the reſult of calculations. It does not appear, indeed, that the Chineſe were, at any time, able to predict an eclipſe, notwithſtanding all that has been ſaid in their favour on this ſubject. The reputed Chineſe tables, publiſhed by father Couplet, have been detected to be thoſe of Tycho Brahe; and Caſſini found the chronology of their eclipſes, publiſhed by Martinus, to be erroneous, and their returns impoſſible. It could not indeed be otherwiſe; the defectiveneſs of the calendar muſt neceſſarily falſify all their records as to time.

Had the miſſionaries been diſpoſed to confer a real ſervice on the Chineſe, inſtead of miſleading the world by their ſtrange and wonderful accounts of this people; inſtead of beſtowing ſo much time in tranſlating into Chineſe a ſet of logarithm tables for the uſe of *Kaung-ſhee*, the ſecond Emperor of the preſent dynaſty, of which they pretend he was ſo fond that he always carried them about with him ſuſpended to his girdle, they ſhould rather have taught them the uſe, and the convenience, of the Arabic numbers, of whoſe combinations and reſults their own language is not capable, and have inſtructed a few of their youth in the principles of arithmetic and the mathematics. For ſuch an omiſſion, however, human nature can readily find an excuſe. It would be too great an inſtance of ſelf-denial, to relinquiſh the advantages and the credit which their ſuperior ſkill had gained them over a vaſt empire, by making the individuals of that empire participate in their knowledge.

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When we reflect, for a moment, how many perplexities and difficulties were occaſioned by the irregular coincidences of the ſolar and lunar periods, in the calendars of Europe, from the time of Julius Cæſar to the altering of the ſtyle by pope Gregory, we may readily conceive how great muſt be the errors in the chronology of a country, where the inhabitants are entirely ignorant even of the firſt principles of aſtronomy, and where they depended on the adventitious aid of foreigners, to enable them to carry into execution one of the moſt important concerns of the government.

Every thing of their own invention and diſcovery carries with it ſuch ſtrong marks of originality, as cannot eaſily be miſtaken. The language declares itſelf to be moſt unqueſtionably the production of the country; ſo does the mariner's compaſs; and they have a cycle, or period, to aſſiſt their chronology, of which I think none will diſpute with them the invention. In their records it is carried back to the time of the Emperor *Whang-tee*, the third from *Fo-ſhee*. This cycle, conſiſting of ſixty years, has no reference to the periods of the motions or coincidences of the ſun and moon, as one of the ſame period among the Hindus, but is uſed merely as our century, to diſtinguiſh time into eras or ages. Inſtead of denominating any given year the firſt, ſecond, or third year of ſuch a cycle, they have aſſumed two ſets of characters, one ſet conſiſting of ten, and the other of twelve; the firſt are called the ten roots, and the ſecond the twelve branches. The combination of a root and a branch gives a name for the year; and the different permutations, of which they are capable, ſupply them with

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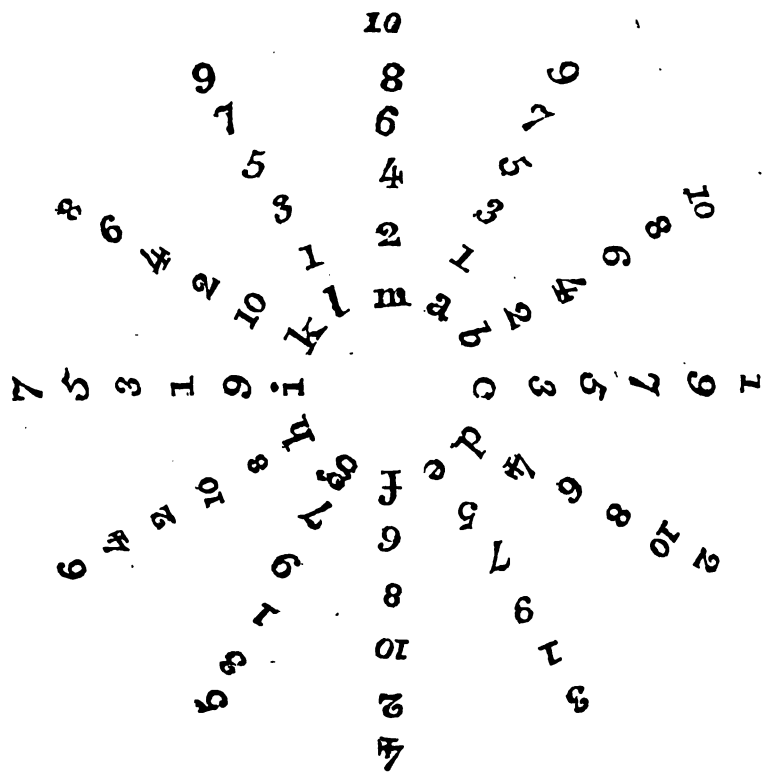
ſixty diſtinct titles, making the complete cycle of ſixty years. The nature of this period may be rendered familiar to ſuch as are not converſant with the combination of numbers, by aſſuming the numerals from 1 to 10 for the ten roots, and the letters of the alphabet from *a* to *m*, for the twelve branches, and by placing them in a circle, in the following manner, where the cycle begins with the letter *a*.



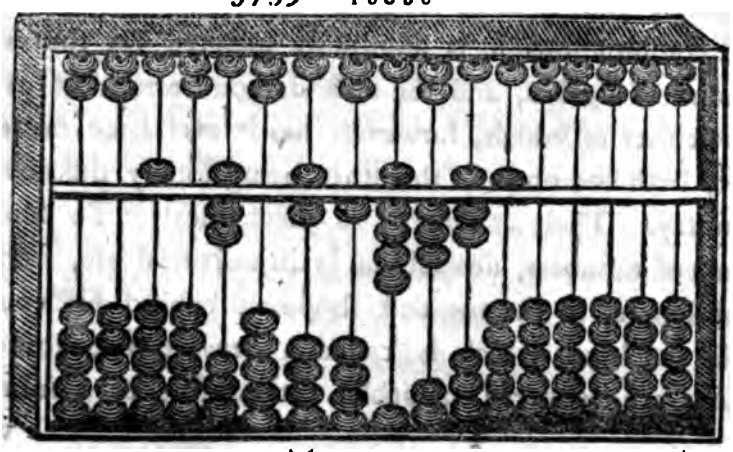
Suppoſing theſe letters and figures to be Chineſe characters, the firſt year of any cycle would be called 1*a*, the ſecond 2*b*, the third 3*c*. and ſo on to 10*k*, the tenth year; the eleventh would be 1*l*, the twelfth 2*m*, the thirteenth 3*a*, and the ſixtieth 10*m*,

tom, when the whole revolution would be completed. This cycle, though always uſed in the records of their hiſtory, never appears in the date of public acts. Theſe only ſpecify the time of the reign under which they are given, as the 1ſt. 2d. or 3d. day of the 1ſt. 2d. or 3d moon, of the 1ſt. 2d. or 3d. year of the reign of ſuch or ſuch an Emperor.

Little progreſs as they appear to have made in the ſcience of aſtronomy, their knowledge of geography, which ſuppoſes indeed an acquaintance with the former, is equally limited. Their own empire was conſidered to occupy the middle ſpace of the ſquare ſurface of the earth, the reſt of which was made up of iſlands. When the Jeſuits firſt entered China, they found the charts, even of their own country, rude and incorrect ſketches, without any ſcale or proportion, wherein a ridge of mountains covered a whole province, and a river ſwept away half of another. At preſent they have neat and accurate maps of the country, copied after the original ſurvey of the whole empire, undertaken and completed by the Jeſuits, after ſeveral years of indefatigable labour.

Although the Chineſe language be unfavourable for numerical combinations it is admirably adapted for the conciſe operations of algebra, and the terſe demonſtrations of geometry, to neither of which, however, has it ever been made ſubſervient, both the one and the other being totally unknown in the country. Their arithmetic is mechanical. To find the aggregate of numbers, a machine is in univerſal uſe, from the man of letters, to the meaneſt ſhopman behind his counter. By this machine, which is called a *Swan-pan*, arithmetical operations are rendered palpable. It conſiſts of a frame of

wood, divided into two compartments by a bar running down the middle: through this bar, at right angles, are inſerted a number of parallel wires, and on each wire, in one compartment, are five moveable balls, and in the other two. Theſe wires may be conſidered as the aſcending and deſcending powers of a numeration table, proceeding in a tenfold proportion; ſo that if a ball upon any of the wires, in the larger compartment, be placed againſt the middle bar, and called unity or one, a ball on the wire next above it will repreſent ten, and one on the next one hundred; ſo, alſo, a ball on the wire next below that expreſſing unity will be one-tenth, the next lower one hundredth, and the third one thouſandth, part of an unit; and the balls on the correſponding wires in the ſmaller compartment will be five, fifty, five hundred, five-tenths, five hundredths, five thouſandths; the value or power of each of theſe, in the ſmaller diviſion, being always five times as much as of thoſe in the larger. In the following figure, ſuppoſe X be aſſumed as the line of units, the lines to the right will be integers decimally increaſing, and thoſe to the left fractional parts decimally decreaſing; and the *Swan-pan* in the preſent poſition of the balls, will repreſent the number $573916\frac{0705}{10000}$.



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This is clearly a ſyſtem of decimal arithmetic, which, for the eaſe, ſimplicity, and convenience of its operations, it were to be wiſhed was generally adopted in Europe, inſtead of the endleſs ways in which the integer is differently divided in different countries, and in the different provinces of the ſame country. The *Swan-pan* would be no bad inſtrument for teaching to a blind perſon the operations of arithmetic. Yet, paradoxical as it may ſeem, theſe operations, as performed by the Chineſe, like their written characters, require more the exerciſe of the eye than of the mind. The ſimple addition or ſubtraction of the little balls to, or from, the middle bar, ſhews at once by their diſpoſition on the board the reſult of any required combination. The invention of it I think may fairly be attributed to the Chineſe; though it has been compared, how juſtly I cannot pretend to ſay, to the Roman *abacus*.

It has been obſerved, and perhaps with a great deal of truth, that the arts which ſupply the luxuries, the conveniencies, and the neceſſaries of life, have derived but little advantage in the firſt inſtance from the labours and ſpeculations of philoſophers; that the ingenuity of artiſts, the accidental or progreſſive diſcoveries of common workmen, in any particular branch of buſineſs, have frequently afforded *data*, from which, by the reaſonings and inveſtigations of philoſophers, hints have ſometimes been ſtruck out for arriving at the ſame ends by a ſhorter way; that the learned are therefore more properly to be conſidered as improvers than inventors. Of this mortifying truth, the Chineſe afford many ſtrong examples in their arts and manufactures, and particularly in ſome of thoſe operations that have a reference to chemiſtry, which cannot here be ſaid to

exiſt as a ſcience, although ſeveral branches are in common practice as chemical arts. Without poſſeſſing any theory concerning the affinities of bodies, or attractions of coheſion or aggregation, they clarify the muddy waters of their rivers, for immediate uſe, by ſtirring them round with a piece of alum in a hollow bamboo; a ſimple operation which, experience has taught them, will cauſe the clayey particles to fall to the bottom; and having aſcertained the fact, they have given themſelves no further trouble to explain the phenomenon.

In like manner, they are well acquainted with the effect of ſteam upon certain bodies that are immerſed in it; that its heat is much greater than that of boiling water. Yet, although for ages they have been in the conſtant practice of confining it in cloſe veſſels, ſomething like *Papin's digeſter*, for the purpoſe of ſoftening horn, from which their thin, tranſparent, and capacious lanterns are made, they ſeem not to have diſcovered its extraordinary force when thus pent up; at leaſt, they have never thought of applying that power to purpoſes which animal ſtrength has not been adequate to effect. They extract from the three kingdoms of nature the moſt brilliant colours, which they have alſo acquired the art of preparing and mixing, ſo as to produce every intermediate tint; and, in their richeſt and moſt lively hues, they communicate theſe colours to ſilks, cottons, and paper; yet they have no theory on colours.

The proceſs of ſmelting iron from the ore is well known to them; and their caſt ware of this metal is remarkably thin and light. They have alſo an imperfect knowledge of converting

In a very ancient treatiſe on the military art, there is a detailed account of the manner how to annoy an enemy's camp, by ſpringing a mine with gunpowder; but this treatiſe makes no mention of cannon. Fire-works, made generally of gunpowder, filings of zinc, camphor, and other ingredients, are deſcribed in various old tracts. It is eaſily conceived, that the deflagration of nitre was likely to be firſt noticed in thoſe countries where it is the ſpontaneous and abundant production of the earth, which is the caſe on the elevated deſarts of Tartary and Thibet, and on the low and extenſive plains of India and China. The gunpowder, however, made by the Chineſe is extremely bad. They have no particular manufactory, but each individual makes his own. It is in fact one part of the ſoldier's employment to prepare his own gunpowder. The uſual proportions, according to *Van-ta-gin*'s information are,

50 pounds of nitre,
25 ——— ſulphur,
25 ——— charcoal.

They know not the art of granulating the paſte, as in Europe, but uſe it in a coarſe powder, which ſometimes cakes together into a ſolid maſs; and from the impurity of the nitre, (no means appearing to be employed for extracting the common ſalt it uſually contains) the leaſt expoſure to the air, by attracting the moiſture, makes it unfit for ſervice. This may be one reaſon for their objection to firelocks.

It has been remarked, that the three great diſcoveries of the magnetic needle, of gunpowder, and of printing, in Europe, followed cloſe upon the return of the famous traveller Marco Polo.

Polo. It was the boaſt indeed of *Caung-ſhee* to the Jeſuits, when they inſtructed him in ſome of the ſciences of Europe, that the latter country was neither acquainted with the mariner's compaſs, nor with the art of printing, nor with gunpowder, till they had been in common uſe in China near two thouſand years. As to gunpowder, it is pretty obvious, that our countryman Roger Bacon was well acquainted with the ingredients that enter into its compoſition. In more than one part of his works he obſerves, that with ſaltpetre and other articles may be made a fire that will inflame to a great diſtance; and in one place he ſtates, that with ſulphur, ſaltpetre, and ſomething elſe, which he diſguiſes under two or three barbarous words, a compoſition may be made, by which the effects of thunder and of lightning may be imitated. Bacon died in the year 1292, and Marco Polo returned to Europe in 1295; ſo that he could not poſſibly have received any hint to lead towards the diſcovery through the channel of the Venetian traveller *.

If the Chineſe had, at any period of their hiſtory, been acquainted with the art of caſting large cannon, and of making

* The invention, in Europe, is uſually attributed to one Schwartz, a German Monk, about the year 1354, which, however, is very doubtful, as there is every reaſon to believe that cannon was made uſe of at the battle of Creſſy, which happened in the year 1346. And Mariana, in his account of the ſiege of Algeziras by the Spaniards, in the year 1342, or 1343, as quoted by Biſhop Watſon, obſerves, "that the Moors very much annoyed the Chriſtians with their iron ſhot;" and he further adds, that "this is the firſt mention made in hiſtory of the uſe of gunpowder "and ball." It is therefore extremely probable, that the firſt introduction of gunpowder into Europe was by ſome Mahomedans from the eaſtward, and that Schwartz was not the inventor, although he might perhaps have been the firſt publiſher of the diſcovery.

uſe

uſe of them in their wars, it is ſcarcely probable they would ever have loſt it. Yet it is very certain the two Jeſuits, Schaal and Verbieſt, took great pains to inſtruct them in the method of caſting cannon; in which, however, they have not made any progreſs or improvement. I obſerved, near one of the gates of Pekin, a few rude, ill-ſhapen, and diſproportionate pieces, lying unmounted on the ground, and theſe, with ſome of the ſame kind on the frontiers of Canton, and a few pieces, apparently twelve pounders, at *Hang-tcheu-foo*, which had wooden pent-houſes erected over each, were the only cannon that we noticed in the whole country. Whether the ſpecimens, exhibited in the annexed plate, which were drawn by the late Captain Pariſh of the Royal Artillery, be originally of Chineſe invention, or borrowed from ſome other nation, I cannot take upon me to decide; but ſuch are the pieces which are ſometimes found, ſcattered about the gates of ſome of their cities.

Mr. Bell, who viſited China in the ſuite of the Ruſſian Embaſſador, near a century ago, remarks, that "towards the "weſtern extremity of the Great Wall, he obſerved ſome "hundreds of old cannon piled up in one of the towers, each "compoſed of three or four pieces of hammered iron, joined "and faſtened together with hoops of the ſame metal." It is probable indeed that the Chineſe, like the Hindoos, before the time of Schaal and Verbieſt, made uſe of cannon of wrought iron, which were hooped together like thoſe mentioned by Mr. Bell.

To

Sketches of Chinese Artillery.

(REFERENCES.)

Fig. 1. Iron four Pounder about 8 feet long at Han chen Fou

2. Iron four Pounder about 8 feet long at Chang san chen

3 A Field Piece about the Calibre and length of our Wall Piece but of much greater thickness of Metal

4 Half Pounder Field Piece

5 A Platform of Masonry with irregular Pieces about 2 pounders probably for throwing Stones. They are thus placed in the open Spaces at the Gate Ways at PEKIN and Tun chen

6 A Stand for Field Pieces at Coupe keou

Fig. 1.

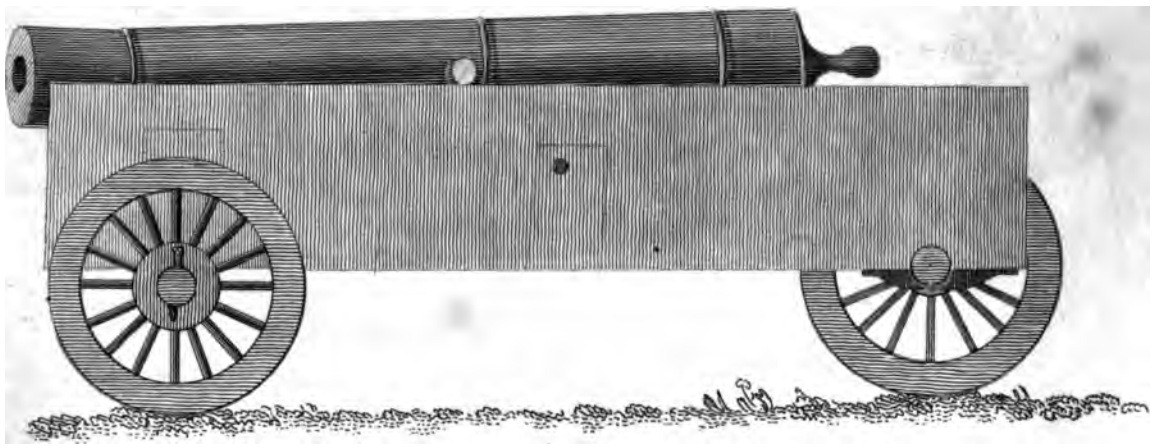

Fig. 2.

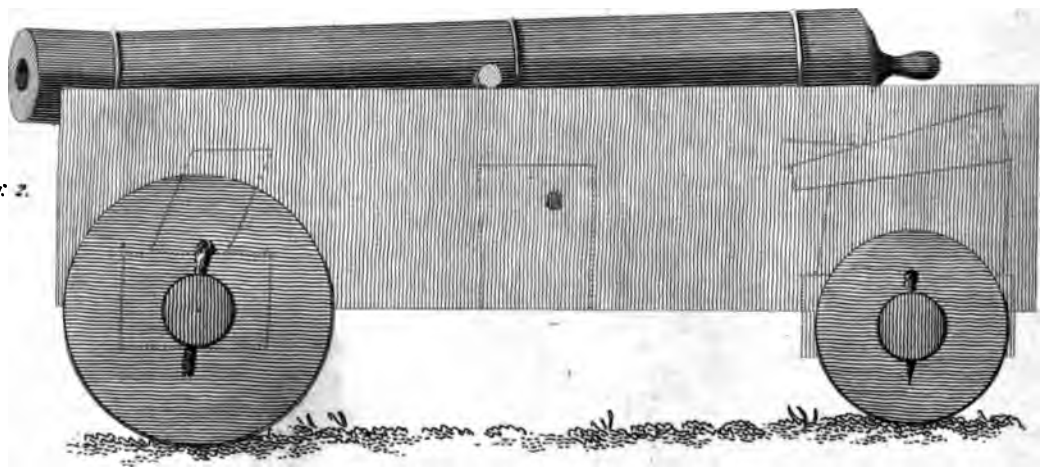

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Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

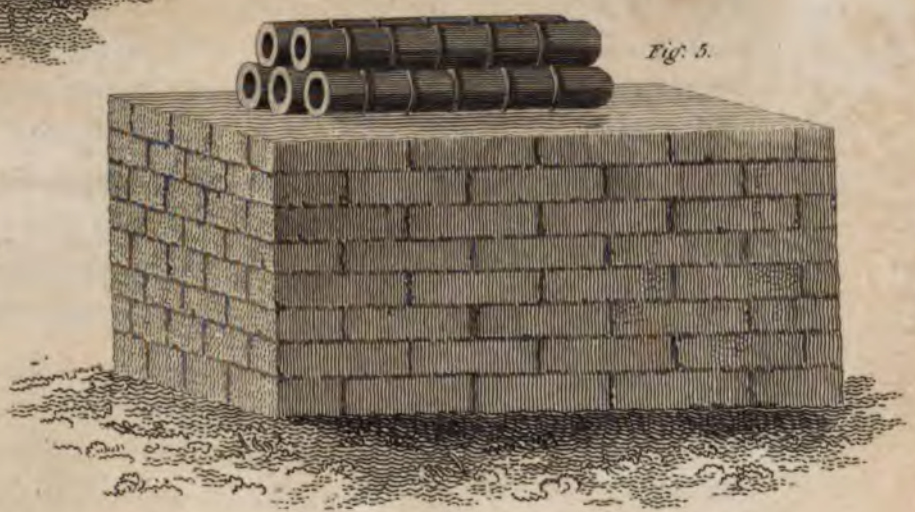

Fig. 5.

Fig. 6.

by Cadell & Davies Strand.

Neele sculp. 352 Strand.

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In making their ſalutes, of which they are not ſparing, they invariably employ three ſmall petards, or piſtol-barrels rather, which are ſtuck erect in the ground; and in firing theſe ſmall pieces the ſoldiers are ſo afraid, that they are diſcharged by a train laid from one to the other. When Captain Pariſh cauſed a few rounds to be fired from two field-pieces, which were among the preſents for the Emperor, in as quick ſucceſſion as poſſible, the Chineſe officers very coolly obſerved, that their own ſoldiers could do it juſt as well, and perhaps better. And when Lord Macartney aſked the Ex-viceroy of Canton if he would wiſh to ſee his guard go through the different evolutions as practiſed in Europe, he replied with equal indifference, "That they could not poſſibly be new to him, who "had been ſo much engaged in the wars on the frontiers of "Tartary;" though the chances are, that he had never before ſeen a firelock: with ſuch ridiculous affectation of ſuperiority, and contempt for other nations, does the unconquerable pride of this people inſpire them. It ſeems, indeed, to be laid down as a general principle, never to be caught in the admiration of any thing brought among them by foreigners. Whenever a man of rank came to look at the preſents, if obſerved by any of us, he would careleſsly glance his eye over them, and affect as much indifference as if he was in the daily habit of viewing things of the ſame kind.

A French phyſician, who travelled in China, ſays he never ſaw an alembic or diſtillatory apparatus in the whole country. The art of diſtillation, however, is very well known, and in common practice. Their *Sau-tchoo*, (literally burnt wine), is an

an ardent ſpirit diſtilled from various kinds of grain, but moſt commonly from rice, of a ſtrong empyreumatic flavour, not unlike the ſpirit known in Scotland by the name of whiſkey. The rice is kept in hot water till the grains are ſwollen; it is then mixed up with water in which has been diſſolved a preparation called *pe-ka*, conſiſting of rice-flour, liquorice-root, anniſeed, and garlic; this not only haſtens fermentation, but is ſuppoſed to give it a peculiar flavour. The mixture then undergoes diſtillation. The *Sau-tchoo*, thus prepared, may be conſidered as the baſis of the beſt arrack, which in Java is excluſively the manufacture of Chineſe, and is nothing more than a rectification of the above ſpirit, with the addition of molaſſes and juice of the cocoa-nut tree. Before diſtillation the liquor is ſimply called *tchoo*, or wine, and in this ſtate is a very inſipid and diſagreeable beverage. The vine grows extremely well in all the provinces, even as far north as Pekin, but the culture of it ſeems to meet with little encouragement, and no wine is made from the juice of the grape, except by the miſſionaries near the capital.

The manufacture of earthen ware, as far as depends upon the preparation of the materials, they have carried to a pitch of perfection not hitherto equalled by any nation, except the Japaneſe, who are allowed to excel them, not only in this branch, but alſo in all articles of lacquered and varniſhed ware, which fetch exorbitant prices even in China. The beauty of their porcelain, in a great degree, depends upon the extreme labour and attention that is paid to the aſſortment, and the preparation of the different articles employed. Theſe are in general

general a fine ſort of clay called *Kao-lin* which is a ſpecies of Soap-rock, and a granite called *Pe-tun-tſe*, compoſed chiefly of quartz, the proportion of mica being very ſmall. Theſe materials are ground down and waſhed with the greateſt care; and when the paſte has been turned or moulded into forms, each piece is put into a box of clay before it goes into the oven; yet with every precaution, it frequently happens (ſo much is this art ſtill a work of chance) that a whole oven runs together and becomes a maſs of vitrified matter. Neither the Chineſe nor the Japaneſe can boaſt of giving to the materials much elegance of form. With thoſe inimitable models from the Greek and Roman vaſes, brought into modern uſe by the ingenious Mr. Wedgwood, they will not bear a compariſon. And nothing can be more rude and ill-deſigned than the groteſque figures and other objects painted, or rather daubed, on their porcelain, which however are generally the work of the wives and children of the labouring poor. That they can do better we have evident proof; for if a pattern be ſent out from England, the artiſts in Canton will execute it with ſcrupulous exactneſs; and their colours are inimitable.

The manufacture of glaſs was totally unknown among them until the laſt century when, at the recommendation of the Jeſuits, a family was engaged to go from France to Pekin, for the purpoſe of introducing the art of glaſs-making into the country. The attempt failed of ſucceſs, and the concern, at the death of the manager, was broken up. In Canton they melt old broken glaſs and mold it into new forms; and they have been taught to coat plates of glaſs with ſilver, which are partially uſed as

looking-glaſſes; but their common mirrors are of poliſhed metal, which is apparently a compoſition of copper and zinc.

The pride, or the policy, of the government affecting to deſpiſe any thing new or foreign, and the general want of encouragement to new inventions, however ingenious, have been greatly detrimental to the progreſs of the arts and manufactures. The people diſcover no want of genius to conceive, nor of dexterity to execute; and their imitative powers have always been acknowledged to be very great. Of the truth of this remark we had ſeveral inſtances at *Yuen-min-yuen*. The complicated glaſs luſtres, conſiſting of ſeveral hundred pieces, were taken down, piece by piece, in the courſe of half an hour, by two Chineſe, who had never ſeen any thing of the kind before, and were put up again by them with equal facility; yet Mr. Parker thought it neceſſary for our mechanics to attend at his warehouſe ſeveral times to ſee them taken down and again put together, in order to be able to manage the buſineſs on their arrival in China. A Chineſe undertook to cut a ſlip of glaſs from a large curved piece, intended to cover the great dome of the planetarium, after our two artificers had broken three ſimilar pieces in attempting to cut them with the help of the diamond. The man performed it in private, nor could he be prevailed on to ſay in what manner he accompliſhed it. Being a little jagged along the margin, I ſuſpect it was not cut but fractured, perhaps by paſſing a heated iron over a line drawn with water, or ſome other fluid. It is well known that a Chineſe in Canton, on being ſhewn an European watch, undertook, and ſucceeded, to make one like it, though he had never ſeen any thing of the kind

kind before, but it was neceſſary to furniſh him with a main ſpring, which he could not make: and they now fabricate in Canton, as well as in London, and at one third of the expence, all thoſe ingenious pieces of mechaniſm which at one time were ſent to China in ſuch vaſt quantities from the repoſitories of Coxe and Merlin. The mind of a Chineſe is quick and apprehenſive, and his ſmall delicate hands are formed for the execution of neat work.

The manufacture of ſilks has been eſtabliſhed in China at a period ſo remote, as not to be aſcertained from hiſtory; but the time when the cotton plant was firſt brought from the northern parts of India into the ſouthern provinces of China is known, and noticed in their annals. That ſpecies of the cotton plant, from which is produced the manufacture uſually called nankin cotton, is ſaid to looſe its peculiar yellow tint in the courſe of two or three years when cultivated in the ſouthern provinces, owing, in all probability, to the great heat of the weather and continued ſunſhine. I have raiſed this particular ſpecies at the Cape of Good Hope where, upon the ſame plant, as well as on others produced from its ſeed, the pods were as full and the tint of as deep a yellow in the third year as in the firſt. As is generally the caſe in moſt of their manufactures, thoſe of ſilk and cotton do not appear to have lately undergone progreſſive improvement. The want of proper encouragement from the government, and the rigid adherence to ancient uſage, have rendered indeed all their fabricks ſtationary.

Of all the mechanical arts that in which they ſeem to have attained the higheſt degree of perfection is the cutting of ivory. In this branch they ſtand unrivalled, even at Birmingham, that great nurſery of the arts and manufactures where, I underſtand, it has been attempted by means of a machine to cut ivory fans and other articles, in imitation of thoſe of the Chineſe; but the experiment, although ingenious, has not hitherto ſucceeded to that degree, ſo as to produce articles fit to vie with thoſe of the latter. Nothing can be more exquiſitely beautiful than the fine open work diſplayed in a Chineſe fan, the ſticks of which would ſeem to be ſingly cut by the hand, for whatever pattern may be required, or a ſhield with coat of arms, or a cypher, the article will be finiſhed according to the drawing at the ſhorteſt notice. The two outſide ſticks are full of bold ſharp work, undercut in ſuch a manner as could not be performed any other way than by the hand. Yet the moſt finiſhed and beautiful of theſe fans may be purchaſed at Canton for five to ten Spaniſh dollars *. Out of a ſolid ball of ivory, with a hole in it not larger than half an inch in diameter, they will cut from nine to fifteen diſtinct hollow globes, one within another, all looſe and capable of being turned round in every direction, and each of them carved full of the ſame kind of open work that appears on the fans. A very ſmall ſum of money is the price of one of theſe difficult trifles. Models of temples,

* I am aware that thoſe laboured pieces, of Italian make, of ivory cut into landſcapes, with houſes, trees, and figures; ſometimes ſo ſmall as to be comprehended within the compaſs of a ring, may be quoted againſt me; but the work of a ſolitary and ſecluded monk to beguile the weary hours, is not to be brought in competition with that of a common Chineſe artiſt, by which he earns his livelihood.

pagodas,

pagodas, and other pieces of architecture, are beautifully worked in ivory; and from the ſhavings, interwoven with pieces of quills, they make neat baſkets and hats, which are as light and pliant as thoſe of ſtraw. In ſhort, all kinds of toys for children, and other trinkets and trifles, are executed in a neater manner and for leſs money in China, than in any other part of the world.

The various uſes, to which that elegant ſpecies of reed called the bamboo is applied, would require a volume to enumerate. Their chairs, their tables, their ſkreens, their bedſteads and bedding, and many other houſehold moveables, are entirely conſtructed of this hollow reed, and ſome of them in a manner ſufficiently ingenious and beautiful. It is uſed on board ſhips for poles, for ſails, for cables, for rigging, and for caulking. In huſbandry for carts, for wheelbarrows, for wheels to raiſe water, for fences, for ſacking to hold grain, and a variety of other utenſils. The young ſhoots furniſh an article of food; and the wicks of their candles are made of its fibres. It ſerves to embelliſh the garden of the prince, and to cover the cottage of the peaſant. It is the inſtrument, in the hand of power, that keeps the whole empire in awe. In ſhort, there are few uſes to which a Chineſe cannot apply the bamboo, either entire or ſplit into thin laths, or further divided into fibres to be twiſted into cordage, or macerated into a pulp to be manufactured into paper.

That "there is nothing new under the ſun," was the obſervation of a wiſe man in days of yore. Impreſſed with the ſame

ſame idea an ingenious and learned modern author * has written a book to prove, that all the late diſcoveries and inventions of Europe were known to the ancients. The diſcovery of making paper from ſtraw, although new, perhaps, in Europe, is of very ancient date in China. The ſtraw of rice and other grain, the bark of the mulberry-tree, the cotton ſhrub, hemp, nettles, and various other plants and materials, are employed in the paper manufactories of China, where ſheets are prepared of ſuch dimenſions, that a ſingle one may be had to cover the whole ſide of a moderate ſized room. The finer ſort of paper for writing upon has a ſurface as ſmooth as vellum, and is waſhed with a ſtrong ſolution of alum to prevent the ink from ſinking. Many old perſons and children earn a livelihood by waſhing the ink from written paper, which, being afterwards beaten and boiled to a paſte, is re-manufactured into new ſheets; and the ink is alſo ſeparated from the water, and preſerved for future uſe. To this article of their manufacture the arts in our own country owe ſo many advantages, that little requires to be ſaid in its favour. The Chineſe, however, acknowledge their obligations to the Coreans for the improvements in making ink, which, not many centuries ago, were received from them.

As to the art of printing, there can be little doubt of its antiquity in China, yet they have never proceeded beyond a wooden block. The nature, indeed, of the character is ſuch, that moveable types would ſcarcely be practicable. It is true,

* Mr. Dutens.

the

the component parts of the characters are ſufficiently ſimple and few in number; but the difficulty of putting them together upon the frame, into the multitude of forms of which they are capable, is perhaps not to be ſurmounted.

Like the reſt of their inventions the chain-pump which, in Europe, has been brought to ſuch perfection as to conſtitute an eſſential part of ſhips of war and other large veſſels, continues among the Chineſe nearly in its primitive ſtate, the principal improvement ſince its firſt invention conſiſting in the ſubſtitution of boards or baſket-work for wiſps of ſtraw. Its power with them has never been extended beyond that of raiſing a ſmall ſtream of water up an inclined plane, from one reſervoir to another, to ſerve the purpoſes of irrigation. They are of different ſizes, ſome worked by oxen, ſome by treading in a wheel, and others by the hand.

The great advantages attainable from the uſe of mechanical powers are either not underſtood or, purpoſely, not employed. In a country of ſuch vaſt population, machinery may perhaps be conſidered as detrimental eſpecially as, at leaſt, nine-tenths of the community muſt derive their ſubſiſtence from manual labour. It may be a queſtion, not at all decided in their minds, whether the general advantages of facilitating labour, and gaining time by means of machinery, be ſufficient to counterbalance the individual diſtreſs that would, for a time, be occaſioned by the introduction of ſuch machinery. Whatever the reaſon may be, no ſuch means are to be met with in the country. Among the preſents that were carried out for the Emperor

ror were an apparatus for the air pump, various articles for conducting a ſet of experiments in electricity, and the models of a complete ſet of mechanical powers placed upon a braſs pillar. The Emperor, happening to caſt his eye upon them, enquired of the eunuch in waiting for what they were intended. This mutilated animal, although he had been daily ſtudying the nature and uſe of the ſeveral preſents, in order to be able to ſay ſomething upon them when they ſhould be exhibited to his maſter, could not ſucceed in making his Imperial Majeſty comprehend the intention of the articles in queſtion. "I "fancy," ſays the old monarch, "they are meant as play-"things for ſome of my great grandchildren."

The power of the pulley is underſtood by them, and is applied on board all their large veſſels, but always in a ſingle ſtate; at leaſt, I never obſerved a block with more than one wheel in it. The principle of the lever ſhould alſo ſeem to be well known, as all their valuable wares, even ſilver and gold, are weighed with the ſteelyard: and the tooth and pinion wheels are uſed in the conſtruction of their ſelf-moving toys, and in all their rice-mills that are put in motion by a water wheel. But none of the mechanical powers are applied on the great ſcale to facilitate and to expedite labour. Simplicity is the leading feature in all their contrivances that relate to the arts and manufactures. The tools of every artificer are of a conſtruction the moſt ſimple that it ſhould ſeem poſſible to make them, and yet each tool is ſo contrived as to anſwer ſeveral purpoſes. Thus, the bellows of the blackſmith, which is nothing more than a hollow cylinder of wood, with a valvular piſton, beſide

beſide blowing the fire, ſerves for his ſeat when ſet on end, and as a box to contain the reſt of his tools. The barber's bamboo baſket, that contains his apparatus, is alſo the ſeat for his cuſtomers. The joiner makes uſe of his rule as a walking ſtick, and the cheſt that holds his tools ſerves him as a bench to work on. The pedlar's box and a large umbrella are ſufficient for him to exhibit all his wares, and to form his little ſhop.

Little can be ſaid in favour of the ſtate of the fine arts in this country. Of their poetry, modern and ancient, I have given a ſpecimen; but I think it right once more to obſerve that, with regard to Aſiatic compoſitions, Europeans cannot form a proper judgment, and more eſpecially of thoſe of the Chineſe, which, to the myſterious and obſcure expreſſions of metaphor, add the diſadvantage of a language that ſpeaks but little to the ear; a whole ſentence, or a combination of ideas, being ſometimes ſhut up in a ſhort monoſyllable, whoſe beauties are moſt ſtudiouſly addreſſed to the ſenſe of ſeeing alone.

Of the other two ſiſter arts, painting and muſic, a more decided opinion may be paſſed. Of the latter I have little to obſerve. It does not ſeem to be cultivated as a ſcience: it is neither learned as an elegant accompliſhment, nor practiſed as an amuſement of genteel life, except by thoſe females who are educated for ſale, or by ſuch as hire themſelves out for the entertainment of thoſe who may be inclined to purchaſe their favours. And as the Chineſe differ in their ideas from all other nations, theſe

women play generally upon wind inſtruments, ſuch as ſmall pipes and flutes; whilſt the favourite inſtrument of the men is the guittar or ſomething not very unlike it, ſome of which have two ſtrings, ſome four, and others ſeven. Eunuchs, and the loweſt claſs of perſons, are hired to play; and the merit of a performance ſhould ſeem to conſiſt in the intenſeneſs of the noiſe brought out of the different inſtruments. The gong or, as they call it, the *loo* is admirably adapted for this purpoſe. This inſtrument is a ſort of ſhallow kettle, or rather the lid of a kettle, which they ſtrike with a wooden mallet covered with leather. The compoſition is ſaid to be copper, tin, and biſmuth. They have alſo a kind of clarinet, three or four different ſorts of trumpets, and a ſtringed inſtrument not unlike a violoncello. Their *ſing* is a combination of uneven reeds of bamboo, not unlike the pipe of Pan; the tones are far from being diſagreeable, but its conſtruction is ſo wild and irregular, that it does not appear to be reducible to any kind of ſcale. Their kettle drums are generally ſhaped like barrels; and theſe, as well as different-ſized bells fixed in a frame, conſtitute parts in their ſacred muſic. They have alſo an inſtrument of muſic which conſiſts of ſtones, cut into the ſhape of a carpenter's ſquare, each ſtone ſuſpended by the corner in a wooden frame. Thoſe which I ſaw appeared to belong to that ſpecies of the ſilicious genus uſually called Gneiſs, a ſort of flaty granite. In the Keſwick muſeum are muſical ſtones of the ſame kind, which were picked up in a rivulet at the foot of Skiddaw mountain; but theſe ſeem to contain ſmall pieces of black ſhorl or tourmaline. It is indeed the boaſt of their hiſtorians, that the whole empire of nature

A sheet of bell Metal
A Pot of bell Metal
The Great Bell of Canton 20 feet diameter & 16 Inches thick.
A Log of Wood shaped like a Skull and used in Temples.
A Metal Bell.
A Small Flute.
A Barrel drum sometimes of Wood & sometimes Metal.
A Lyre of Silken Strings.
A Muffled Drum.
(uncertain)
A Pair of Rattles or Castanets.
Cymbals struck with a rod.
The Metal Gong or Loo
Cymbals.
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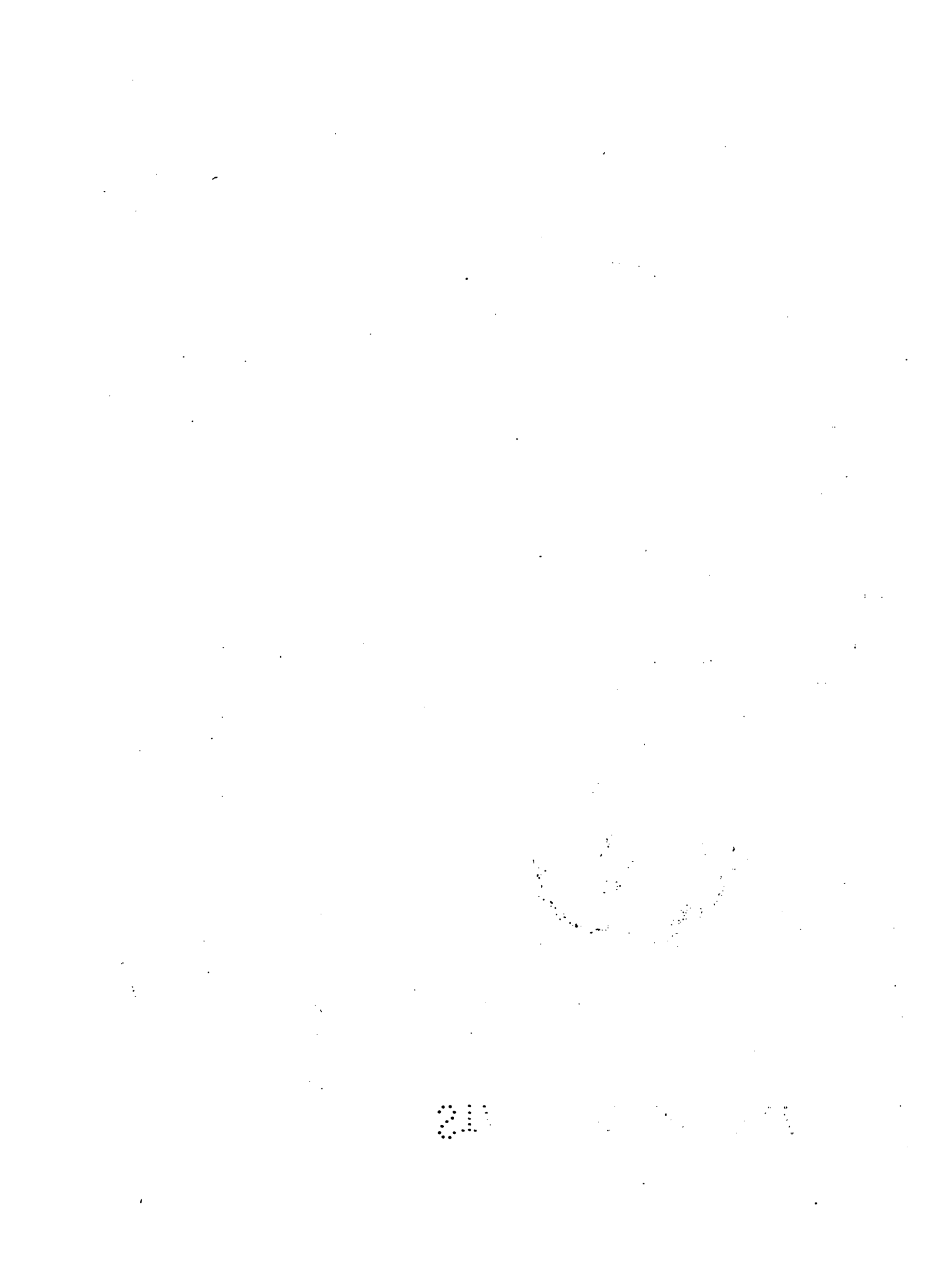
dell & Davies Strand.



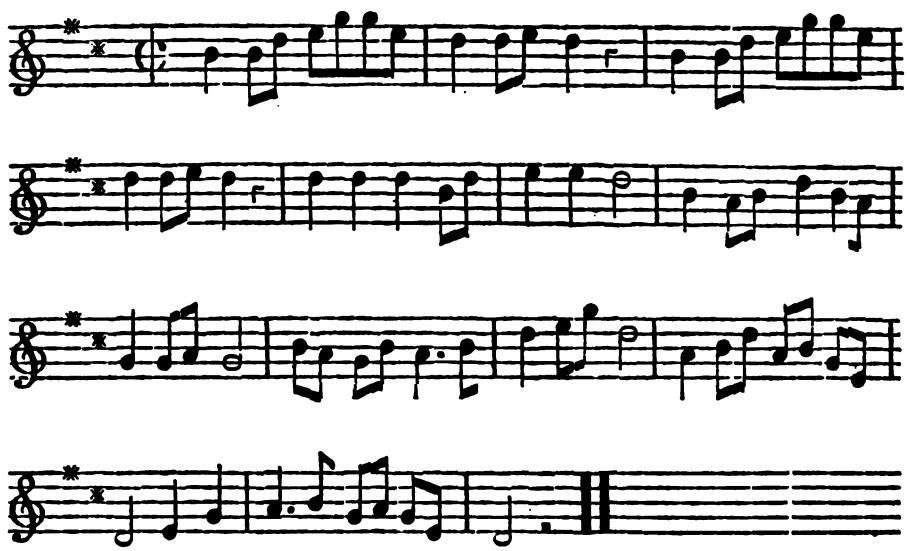
ture has been laid under contribution in order to complete their ſyſtem of muſic: that the ſkins of animals, the fibres of plants, metals, ſtones, and baked earths, have all been employed in the production of ſounds. Their inſtruments, it is true, are ſufficiently varied, both as to ſhape and materials, but I know of none that is even tolerable to an European ear. An Engliſh gentleman in Canton took ſome pains to collect the various inſtruments of the country, of which the annexed plate is a repreſentation, but his catalogue is not complete.

A Chineſe band generally plays, or endeavours to play, in uniſon, and ſometimes an inſtrument takes the octave; but they never attempt to play in ſeparate parts, confining their art to the melody only, if I may venture to apply a name of ſo much ſweetneſs to an aggregation of harſh ſounds. They have not the leaſt notion of counter-point, or playing in parts: an invention indeed to which the elegant Greeks had not arrived, and which was unknown in Europe as well as Aſia, until the monkiſh ages.

I never heard but one ſingle Chineſe who could be ſaid to ſing with feeling or plaintiveneſs. Accompanied with a kind of guittar, he ſung the following air in praiſe of the flower *Moo-lee*, which it ſeems is one of the moſt popular ſongs in the whole country. The ſimple melody was taken down by Mr. Hittner, and I underſtand has been publiſhed in London, with head and tail-pieces, accompaniments, and all the refined arts of European muſic; ſo that it ceaſes to be a ſpecimen of the plain melody of

China. I have therefore given it in its unadorned ſtate, as ſung and played by the Chineſe, together with the words of the firſt ſtanza, and their literal tranſlation.

MOO-LEE-WHA.



MOO-LEE-WHA.

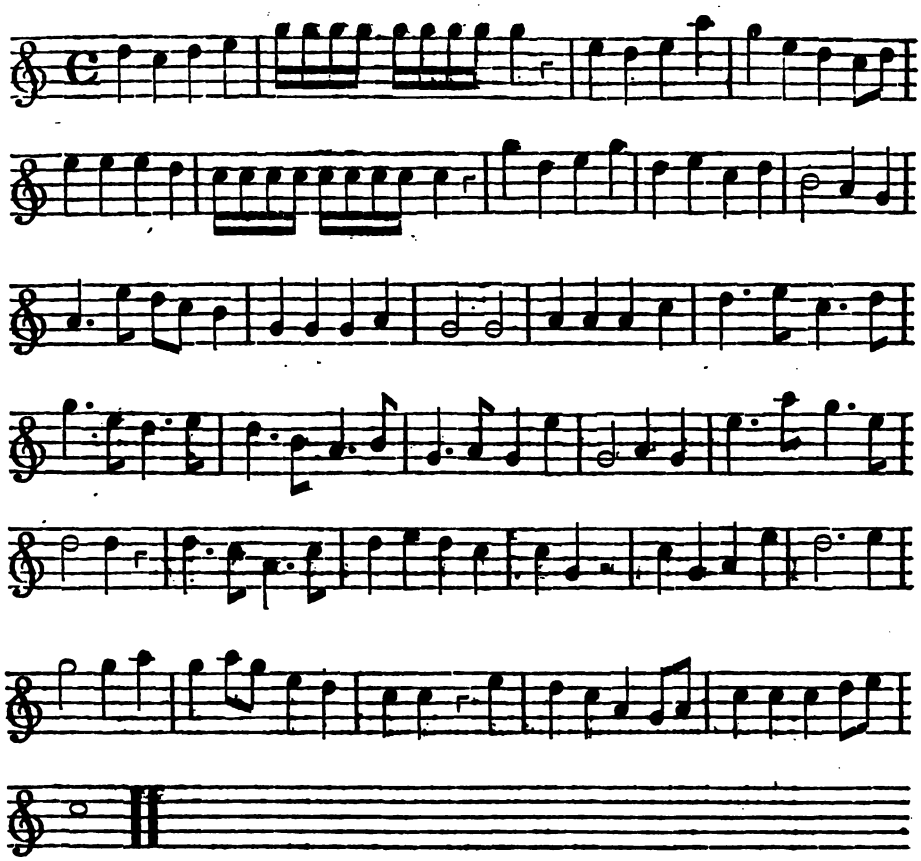
I.

1 2 3 4 5
Hau ye-to ſien wha,
6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13
Yeu tchau yeu jie lo tſai go kia
14 15 16 17 18 19
Go pun tai, poo tchoo mun
20 21 22 23 24 25
Twee tcho ſien wha ul lo.

II.

CHINESE POPULAR AIRS.

No. I.



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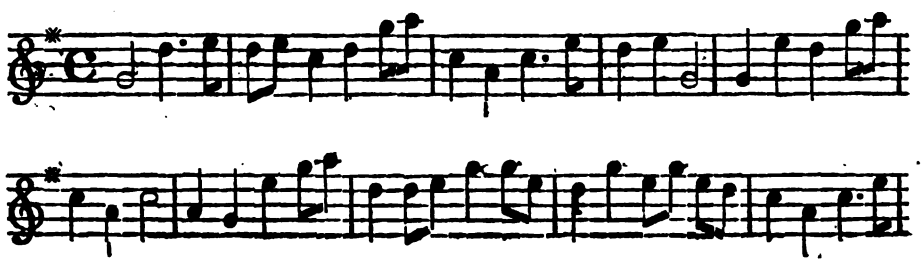

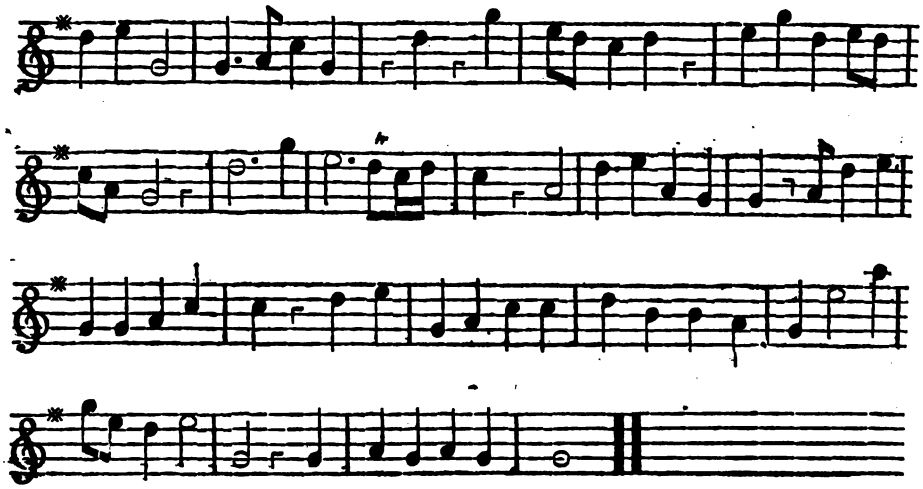

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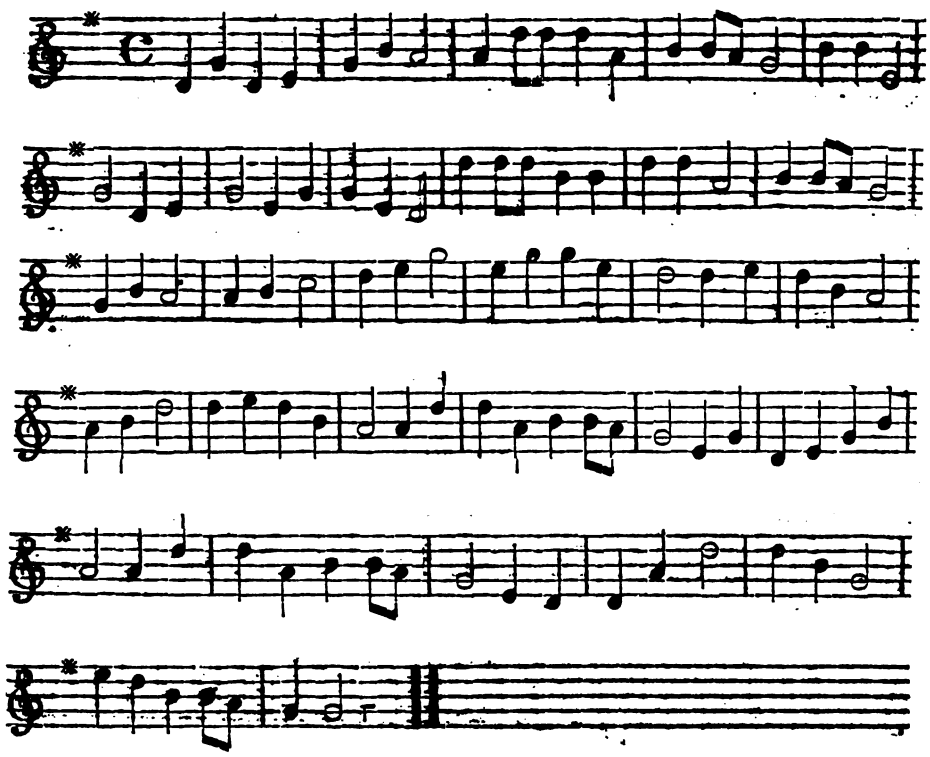

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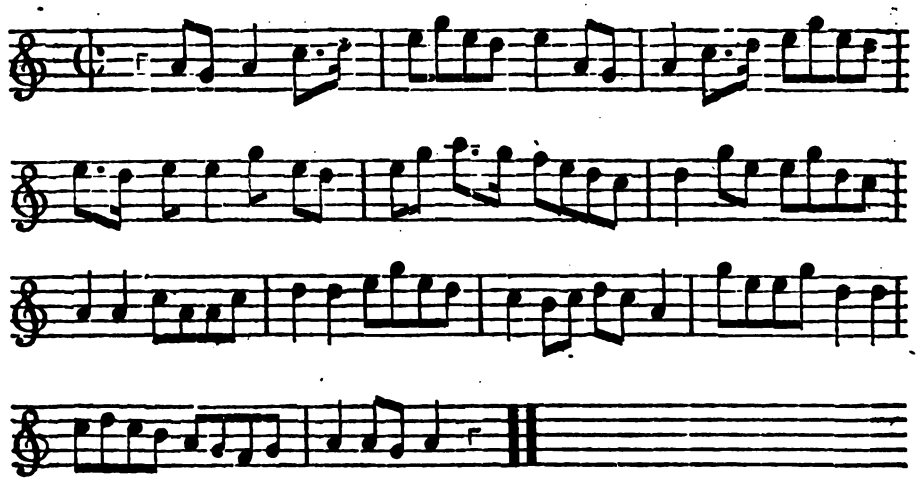

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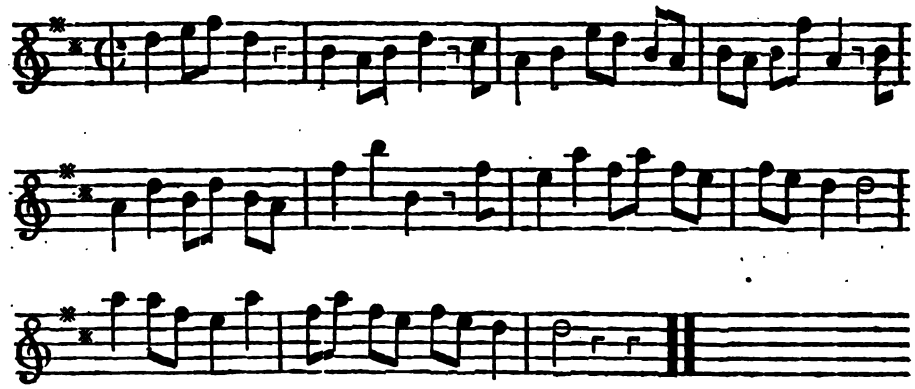

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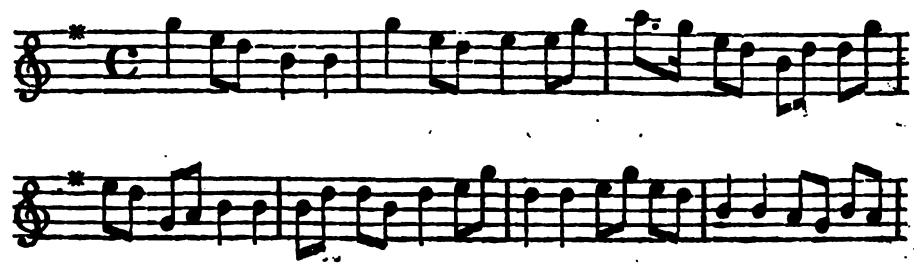

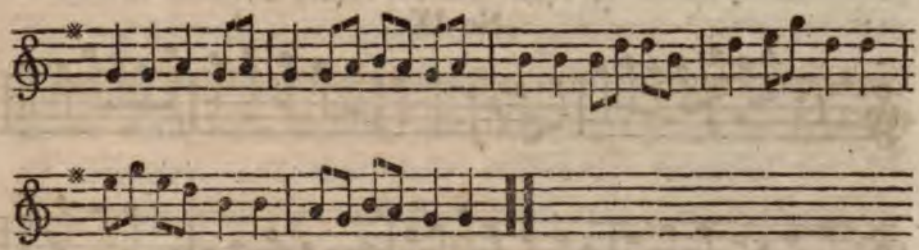

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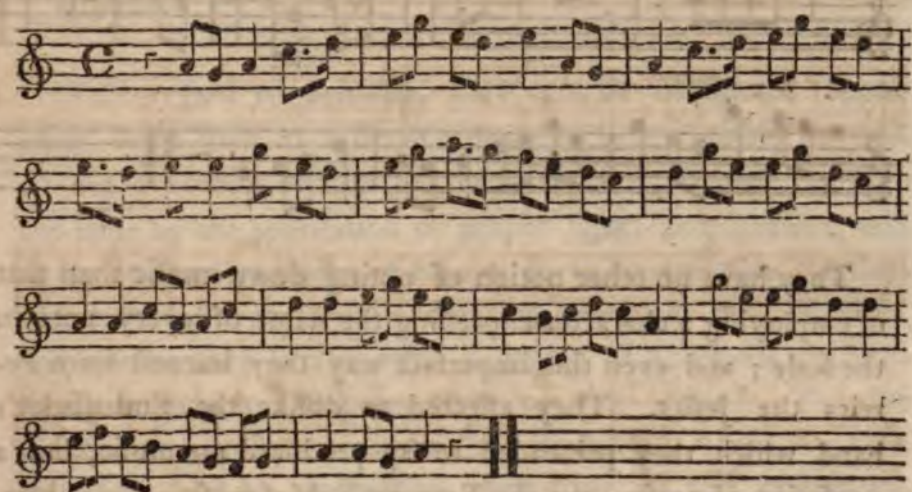

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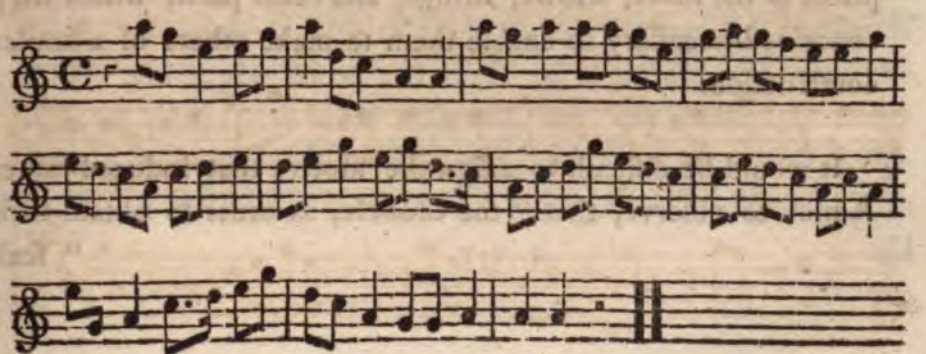

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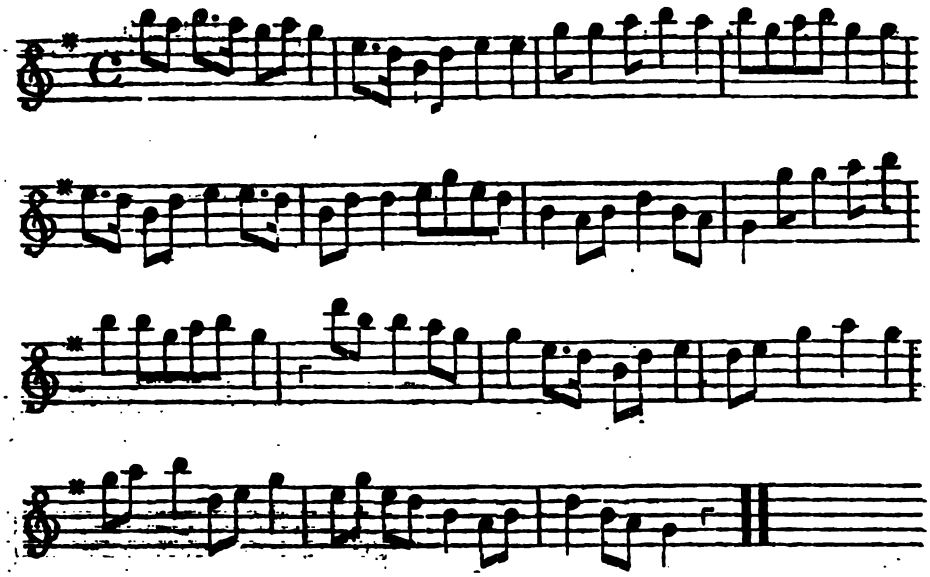

They have no other notion of noting down muſic than that of employing a character expreſſing the name of every note in the ſcale; and even this imperfect way they learned from Pereira the Jeſuit. They affected to diſlike the Embaſſador's band which they pretended to ſay produced no muſic, but a confuſion of noiſes; yet the Emperor's chief muſician gave himſelf a great deal of trouble in tracing out the ſeveral inſtruments on large ſheets of paper, each of its particular ſize, marking the places of the holes, ſcrews, ſtrings, and other parts, which they conceived neceſſary to enable them to make others of a ſimilar conſtruction.

It would be difficult to aſſign the motive that induced father Amiot to obſerve, that "the Chineſe, in order to obtain their "ſcale

" ſcale of notes or gamut perfect, were not afraid of ſubmitting " to the moſt laborious operations of geometry, and to the moſt " tedious and diſguſting calculations in the ſcience of numbers;" as he muſt have known, that they were altogether ignorant of geometry, and that their arithmetic extended not beyond their *Swan-pan*. Of the ſame nature is the bold and unfounded aſſertion of another of the Jeſuits, " that the muſical " ſyſtem of the Chineſe was borrowed from them by the " Greeks and Egyptians, anterior to the time of Hermes or " Orpheus!"

With regard to painting, they can be conſidered in no other light than as miſerable daubers, being unable to pencil out a correct outline of many objects, to give body to the ſame by the application of proper lights and ſhadows, and to lay on the nice ſhades of colour, ſo as to reſemble the tints of nature. But the gaudy colouring of certain flowers, birds, and inſects, they imitate with a degree of exactneſs and brilliancy to which Europeans have not yet arrived. To give diſtance to objects on canvas, by diminiſhing them, by faint colouring, and by perſpective, they have no ſort of conception. At *Yuen-min-yuen* I found two very large paintings of landſcapes which, as to the pencilling, were done with tolerable execution, but they were finiſhed with a minuteneſs of detail, and without any of thoſe ſtrong lights and maſſes of ſhade, which give force and effect to a picture; none of the rules of perſpective were obſerved, nor any attempt to throw the objects to their proper diſtances; yet I could not help fancying that I diſcovered in them the hand of an European. The

old eunuch, who carried the keys of the room, frequently aſked me, when looking at theſe pictures, if I did not think his countrymen were excellent painters; and having one day expreſſed great admiration for the talents of the artiſt, he led me into a receſs of the room, and opening a cheſt, ſupported upon a pedeſtal, he obſerved, with a ſignificant look, he was now going to produce ſomething that would aſtoniſh me. He then took out ſeveral large volumes, which were full of figures, drawn in a very ſuperior ſtyle and tinted with water colours, repreſenting the ſeveral trades and occupations carried on in the country; but they ſeemed to be ſtuck againſt the paper, having neither ſhadow nor foreground, nor diſtance, to give them any relief. On the oppoſite page to each figure was a deſcription, in the Mantchoo Tartar and the Chineſe languages. Having turned over one of the volumes, I obſerved, on the laſt page, the name of *Caſtaglione*, which at once ſolved the riddle. On re-examining the large pictures in the hall, I found the ſame name in the corner of each. While going through the volume, the old eunuch frequently aſked, if any one in Europe could paint like the Chineſe? but, on my pointing to the name, and repeating the word *Caſtaglione*, he immediately ſhut the book and returned them all into the cheſt, nor, from that time, could I ever prevail upon him to let me have another ſight of them. On enquiry, I found that Caſtaglione was a miſſionary in great repute at court, where he executed a number of paintings, but was expreſsly directed by the Emperor to paint all his ſubjects after the Chineſe manner, and not like thoſe of Europe, with broad maſſes of ſhade and the diſtant objects ſcarcely viſible, obſerving to him, as one of the miſſionaries told me, that the imper-

imperfections of the eye afforded no reaſon why the objects of nature ſhould alſo be copied as imperfect. This idea of the Emperor accords with a remark made by one of his miniſters, who came to ſee the portrait of His Britannic Majeſty, " that " it was great pity it ſhould have been ſpoiled by the dirt upon " the face," pointing, at the ſame time, to the broad ſhade of the noſe.

Ghirrardini, an European painter, publiſhed an account of his voyage to China, where, it appears, he was ſo diſguſted that, having obſerved how little idea they poſſeſs of the fine arts, he adds, with rather more petulancy than truth, " theſe " Chineſe are fit for nothing but weighing ſilver, and eating " rice." Ghirrardini painted a large colonnade in vaniſhing perſpective, which ſtruck them ſo very forcibly that they concluded he muſt certainly have dealings with the devil; but, on approaching the canvas and feeling with their hands, in order to be fully convinced that all they ſaw was on a flat ſurface, they perſiſted that nothing could be more unnatural than to repreſent diſtances, where there actually neither was, nor could be, any diſtance.

It is ſcarcely neceſſary to add any thing further with regard to the ſtate of painting in China. I ſhall only obſerve, that the Emperor's favourite draughtſman, who may of courſe be ſuppoſed as good or better than others of the ſame profeſſion in the capital, was ſent to make drawings of ſome of the principal preſents to carry to his maſter, then in Tartary, as elucidations of the deſcriptive catalogue. This man, after various unſuc-

ceſsful attempts to deſign the elegant time-pieces of Vulliamy, ſupported by beautiful figures of white marble, ſupplicated my aſſiſtance in a matter which he repreſented as of the laſt importance to himſelf. It was in vain to aſſure him that I was no draughtſman; he was determined to have the proof of it; and he departed extremely well ſatisfied in obtaining a very mean performance with the pencil, to copy after or cover with his China ink. Every part of the machines, except the naked figures which ſupported the time-piece and a barometer, he drew with neatneſs and accuracy, but all his attempts to copy theſe were unſucceſsful. Whether it was owing to any real difficulty that exiſts in the nice turns and proportions of the human figure, or that by being better acquainted with it we more readily perceive the defects in the imitation of it, or from the circumſtance of the human form being concealed in this country in looſe folding robes, that cauſed the Chineſe draughtſman ſo completely to fail, I leave to the artiſts of our own country to determine: but the fact was as I ſtate it; all his attempts to draw theſe figures were prepoſterous.

As to thoſe ſpecimens of beautiful flowers, birds, and inſects, ſometimes brought over to Europe, they are the work of artiſts at Canton where, from being in the habit of copying prints and drawings, carried thither for the purpoſe of being transferred to porcelain, or as articles of commerce, they have acquired a better taſte than in the interior parts of the country. Great quantities of porcelain are ſent from the potteries to Canton perfectly white, that the purchaſer may have them painted to his own pattern: and ſpecimens of theſe bear teſtimony that they

they are no mean copyiſts. It has been obſerved, however, that the ſubjects of natural hiſtory, painted by them, are frequently incorrect; that it is no unuſual thing to meet with the flower of one plant ſet upon the ſtalk of another, and having the leaves of a third. This may formerly have been the caſe, from their following imperfect patterns, or from ſuppoſing they could improve nature; but having found that the repreſentations of natural objects are in more requeſt among foreigners, they pay a ſtricter attention to the ſubject that may be required; and we found them indeed ſuch ſcrupulous copyiſts, as not only to draw the exact number of the petals, the ſtamina, and piſtilla of a flower, but alſo the very number of leaves, with the thorns or ſpots on the foot-ſtalk that ſupported it. They will even count the number of ſcales on a fiſh, and mark them out in their repreſentations, and it is impoſſible to imitate the brilliant colours of nature more cloſely. I brought home ſeveral drawings of plants, birds, and inſects, that have been greatly admired for their accuracy and cloſe colouring; but they want that effect which the proper application of light and ſhade never fails to produce. The coloured prints of Europe that are carried out to Canton are copied there with wonderful fidelity. But in doing this, they exerciſe no judgment of their own. Every defect and blemiſh, original or accidental, they are ſure to copy, being mere ſervile imitators, and not in the leaſt feeling the force or the beauty of any ſpecimen of the arts that may come before them; for the ſame perſon who is one day employed in copying a beautiful European print, will ſit down the next to a Chineſe drawing replete with abſurdity.

Whatever

Whatever may be the progreſs of the arts in the port of Canton, they are not likely to experience much improvement in the interior parts of the country, or in the capital. It was the pride rather of the monarch, and of his miniſters, that made them reject the propoſal of Caſtaglione to eſtabliſh a ſchool for the arts, than the apprehenſion, as ſtated by the miſſionaries, that the rage for painting would become ſo general, as to be prejudicial to uſeful labour.

In a country where painting is at ſo low an ebb, it would be in vain to expect much execution from the chiſſel. Groteſque images of ideal beings, and monſtrous diſtortions of nature, are ſometimes ſeen upon the balluſtrades of bridges, and in their temples, where the niches are filled with gigantic gods of baked clay, ſometimes painted with gaudy colours, and ſometimes plaſtered over with gold leaf, or covered with a coat of varniſh. They are as little able to model as to draw the human figure with any degree of correctneſs. In the whole empire there is not a ſtatue, a hewn pillar, or a column that deſerves to be mentioned. Large four-ſided blocks of ſtone or wood are frequently erected near the gates of cities, with inſcriptions upon them, meant to perpetuate the memory of certain diſtinguiſhed characters; but they are neither objects of grandeur nor ornament, having a much cloſer reſemblance to a gallows than to triumphal arches, as the miſſionaries, for what reaſon I know not, have thought fit to call them.

The intention of theſe monumental erections will appear from ſome of their inſcriptions.

I. *Honour*

I.

Honour granted by the Emperor.
The grateful odour of one hundred years.
Retirement. *Tranquillity.*

II.

Emperor's order.
Peace and Happineſs,
The balm of Life.
On a fortunate day, in the 8th month of the 50th year of the reign of Kien-Long, this monument was erected by the Emperor's order, in honour of Liang-tien-pe, aged 102 *years.*

The two following are inſcriptions on monuments that have been erected to chaſte women, a deſcription of ladies whom the Chineſe conſider to be rarely met with.

III.

Honour granted by the Emperor.
Icy coldneſs. *Hard froſt.*

IV.

The Emperor's order.
The ſweet fragrance of piety and virginity.
Sublime chaſtity. *Pure morals.*

The whole of their architecture, indeed, is as unſightly as unſolid; without elegance or convenience of deſign, and without any ſettled proportion; mean in its appearance, and clumſey in the workmanſhip. Their pagodas of five, ſeven, and nine rounds, or roofs, are the moſt ſtriking objects; but though they appear to be the imitations or, perhaps, more properly ſpeaking, the models of a ſimilar kind of pyramids found in India, they are neither ſo well deſigned, nor ſo well executed: they are, in fact, ſo very ill conſtructed that half of them, without any marks of antiquity, appear in ruins; of theſe uſeleſs and whimſical edifices His Majeſty's garden at Kew exhibits a ſpecimen, which is not inferior in any reſpect to the very beſt I have met with in China. The height of ſuch ſtructures, and the badneſs of the materials with which they are uſually built, contradict the notion that they aſſign as a reaſon for the lowneſs of their houſes, which is, that they may eſcape being thrown down by earthquakes. In fact, the tent ſtands confeſſed in all their dwellings, of which the curved roof and the wooden pillars (in imitation of the poles) forming a colonnade round the ill-built brick walls, clearly denote the origin; and from this original form they have never ventured to deviate. Their temples are moſtly conſtructed upon the ſame plan, with the addition of a ſecond, and ſometimes a third roof, one above the other. The wooden pillars that conſtitute the colonnade are generally of larch fir, of no ſettled proportion between the length and the diameter, and they are invariably painted red and ſometimes covered with a coat of varniſh.

As

As cuſtom and faſhion are not the ſame in any two countries, it has been contended by many that there can be no ſuch thing as true taſte. The advocates for taſte ariſing out of cuſtom will ſay, that no ſolid reaſon can be offered why the pillar which ſupports the Doric capital ſhould be two diameters ſhorter than that which ſuſtains the Corinthian; and that it is the habit only of ſeeing them thus conſtructed that conſtitutes their propriety. Though the reſpective beauties of theſe particular columns may, in part, be felt from the habit of obſerving them always retaining a ſettled proportion, yet it muſt be allowed that, in the moſt perfect works of nature, there appears a certain harmony and agreement of one part with another, that without any ſettled proportion ſeldom fail to pleaſe. Few people will diſagree in their ideas of a handſome tree, or an elegant flower, though there be no fixed proportion between the trunk and the branches, the flower and the foot-ſtalk. Proportion, therefore, alone, is not ſufficient to conſtitute beauty. There muſt be no ſtiffneſs, no ſudden breaking off from a ſtraight line to a curve; but the changes ſhould be eaſy, not viſible in any particular part, but running imperceptibly through the whole. Utility has alſo been conſidered as one of the conſtituent parts of beauty. In the Chineſe column, labouring under an enormous maſs of roof, without either baſe or capital, there is neither ſymmetry of parts, nor eaſe, nor particular utility. Nor have the large ill-ſhapen and unnatural figures of lions, dragons, and ſerpents, grinning on the tops and corners of the roofs, any higher pretenſions to good taſte, to utility, or to beauty.

" The architecture of the Chineſe," ſays one of their encomiaſts, " though it bears no relation to that of Europe; though " it has borrowed nothing from that of the Greeks, has a cer- " tain beauty peculiar to itſelf." It is indeed peculiar to itſelf, and the miſſionaries may be aſſured they are the only perſons who will ever diſcover " real palaces in the manſions of the Em- " peror," or to whom, " their immenſity, ſymmetry, and " magnificence, will announce the grandeur of the maſter who " inhabits them."

The houſe of a prince, or a great officer of ſtate, in the capital, is not much diſtinguiſhed from that of a tradeſman, except by the greater ſpace of ground on which it ſtands, and by being ſurrounded by a high wall. Our lodgings in Pekin were in a houſe of this deſcription. The ground plot was four hundred by three hundred feet, and it was laid out into ten or twelve courts, ſome having two, ſome three, and others four, tent-ſhaped houſes, ſtanding on ſtone terraces raiſed about three feet above the court, which was paved with tiles. Galleries of communication, forming colonnades of red wooden pillars, were carried from each building and from one court to another, ſo that every part of the houſe might be viſited without expoſure to the ſun or the rain. The number of wooden pillars of which the colonnades were formed was about 900. Moſt of the rooms were open to the rafters of the roof; but ſome had a ſlight ceiling of bamboo laths covered with plaſter; and the ladies apartments conſiſted of two ſtories; the upper however had no light, and was not ſo good as our common attics. The floors were laid with bricks or clay. The windows had no glaſs;

glaſs; oiled paper, or ſilk gauze, or pearl ſhell, or horn, were uſed as ſubſtitutes for this article. In the corners of ſome of the rooms were holes in the ground, covered over with ſtones or wood, intended for fire-places, from whence the heat is conveyed, as in the houſes of ancient Rome, through flues in the floor, or in the walls, the latter of which are generally whitened with lime made from ſhells and imported from the ſea coaſt. One room was pointed out to us as the theatre. The ſtage was in the middle, and a ſort of gallery was erected in front of it. A ſtone room was built in the midſt of a piece of water, in imitation of a paſſage yacht, and one of the courts was roughened with rocks, with points and precipices and excavations, as a repreſentation of nature in miniature. On the ledges of theſe were meant to be placed their favourite flowers and ſtunted trees, for which they are famous.

There is not a water-cloſet, nor a decent place of retirement in all China. Sometimes a ſtick is placed over a hole in a corner, but in general they make uſe of large earthen jars with narrow tops. In the great houſe we occupied was a walled incloſure, with a row of ſmall ſquare holes of brickwork ſunk in the ground.

Next to the pagodas, the moſt conſpicuous objects are the gates of cities. Theſe are generally ſquare buildings, carried ſeveral ſtories above the arched gateway and, like the temples, are covered with one or more large projecting roofs. But the moſt ſtupendous work of this country is the great wall that divides it from northern Tartary. It is built exactly upon the ſame plan as the wall of Pekin, being a mound of earth caſed on each

each ſide with bricks or ſtone. The aſtoniſhing magnitude of the fabrick conſiſts not ſo much in the plan of the work, as in the immenſe diſtance of fifteen hundred miles over which it is extended, over mountains of two and three thouſand feet in height, acroſs deep vallies and rivers. But the elevations, plans, and ſections of this wall and its towers have been taken with ſuch truth and accuracy by the late Captain Pariſh, of the Royal Artillery, that all further deſcription would be ſuperfluous. They are to be found in Sir George Staunton's valuable account of the embaſſy to China.

The ſame Emperor, who is ſaid to have committed the barbarous act of deſtroying the works of the learned, raiſed this ſtupendous fabric, which has no parallel in the whole world, not even in the pyramids of Egypt, the magnitude of the largeſt of theſe containing only a very ſmall portion of the quantity of matter comprehended in the great wall of China. This indeed is ſo enormous, that admitting, what I believe has never been denied, its length to be fifteen hundred miles, and the dimenſions throughout pretty much the ſame as where it was croſſed by the Britiſh Embaſſy, the materials of all the dwelling-houſes of England and Scotland, ſuppoſing them to amount to one million eight hundred thouſand, and to average on the whole two thouſand cubic feet of maſonry or brick-work, are barely equivalent to the bulk or ſolid contents of the great wall of China. Nor are the projecting maſſy towers of ſtone and brick included in this calculation. Theſe alone, ſuppoſing them to continue throughout at bow-ſhot diſtance, were calculated to contain as much maſonry and brickwork as all London. To

give another idea of the maſs of matter in this ſtupendous fabric, it may be obſerved, that it is more than ſufficient to ſurround the circumference of the earth on two of its great circles, with two walls, each ſix feet high and two feet thick! It is to be underſtood, however, that in this calculation is included the earthy part in the middle of the wall.

Turning from an object, which the great Doctor Johnſon was of opinion would be an honour to any one to ſay that his grandfather had ſeen, another preſents itſelf ſcarcely inferior in point of grandeur, and greatly excelling it in general utility. This is what has uſually been called the imperial or grand canal, an inland navigation of ſuch extent and magnitude as to ſtand unrivalled in the hiſtory of the world. I may ſafely ſay that, in point of magnitude, our moſt extenſive inland navigation of England can no more be compared to the grand trunk that interſects China, than a park or garden fiſh-pond to the great lake of Winandermere. The Chineſe aſcribe an antiquity to this work higher by many centuries than to that of the great wall; but the Tartars pretend it was firſt opened in the thirteenth century under the Mongul government. The probability is, that an effeminate and ſhameful adminiſtration had ſuffered it to fall into decay, and that the more active Tartars cauſed it to undergo a thorough repair: at preſent it exhibits no appearances of great antiquity. The bridges, the ſtone piers of the flood-gates, the quays, and the retaining walls of the earthen embankments are comparatively new. Whether it has originally been conſtructed by Chineſe or Tartars, the conception of ſuch an undertaking, and the manner in which it is executed, imply

imply a degree of ſcience and ingenuity beyond what I ſuſpect we ſhould now find in the country, either in one or the other of theſe people. The general ſurface of the country and other favourable circumſtances have contributed very materially to aſſiſt the projector, but a great deal of ſkill and management, as well as of immenſe labour, are conſpicuous throughout the whole work.

I ſhall endeavour to convey, in a few words, a general idea of the principles on which this grand undertaking has been carried on. All the rivers of note in China fall from the high lands of Tartary, which lie to the northward of Thibet, croſſing the plains of this empire in their deſcent to the ſea from weſt to eaſt. The inland navigation being carried from north to ſouth cuts theſe rivers at right angles, the ſmaller ſtreams of which terminating in it afford a conſtant ſupply of water; and the three great rivers, the *Eu-ho* to the north, the *Yellow river* towards the middle, and the *Yang-tſe-kiang* to the ſouth, interſecting the canal, carry off the ſuperfluous water to the ſea. The former, therefore, are the *feeders*, and the latter the *diſchargers*, of the great trunk of the canal. A number of difficulties muſt have ariſen in accommodating the general level of the canal to the ſeveral levels of the feeding ſtreams; for notwithſtanding all the favourable circumſtances of the face of the country, it has been found neceſſary in many places to cut down to the depth of ſixty or ſeventy feet below the ſurface; and, in others, to raiſe mounds of earth upon lakes and ſwamps and marſhy grounds, of ſuch a length and magnitude that nothing ſhort of the abſolute command over multitudes could have accompliſhed

compliſhed an undertaking, whoſe immenſity is only exceeded by the great wall. Theſe gigantic embankments are ſometimes carried through lakes of ſeveral miles in diameter, between which the water is forced up to a height conſiderably above that of the lake; and in ſuch ſituations we ſometimes obſerved this enormous aqueduct gliding along at the rate of three miles an hour. Few parts of it are level: in ſome places it has little or no current; one day we had it ſetting to the ſouthward at the rate of one, two, or three miles an hour, the next to the northward, and frequently on the ſame day we found it ſtationary, and running in oppoſite directions. This balancing of the level was effected by flood-gates thrown acroſs at certain diſtances to elevate or depreſs the height of the water a few inches, as might appear to be neceſſary; and theſe ſtoppages are ſimply planks ſliding in grooves, that are cut into the ſides of two ſtone abutments, which in theſe places contract the canal to the width of about thirty feet. There is not a lock nor, except theſe, a ſingle interruption to a continued navigation of ſix hundred miles.

The moſt remarkable parts of this extraordinary work will be noticed in a following chapter, deſcriptive of our journey through the empire.

Over this main trunk, and moſt of the other canals and rivers, are a great variety of bridges, ſome with arches that are pointed not unlike the gothic, ſome ſemicircular, and others ſhaped like a horſe-ſhoe: ſome have the piers of ſuch an extraordinary height that the largeſt veſſels, of two hundred tons, ſail under them without ſtriking their maſts. Some of their bridges, of three,

five, and ſeven arches*, that croſs the canal, are extremely light and beautiful to the eye, but the plan on which they are uſually conſtructed does not imply much ſtrength. Each ſtone, from five to ten feet in length, is cut ſo as to form a ſegment of the arch, and as, in ſuch caſes, there is no key-ſtone, ribs of wood fitted to the convexity of the arch are bolted through the ſtones by iron bars, fixed faſt into the ſolid parts of the bridge. Sometimes, however, they are without wood, and the curved ſtones are morticed into long tranſverſe blocks of ſtone, as in the annexed plate, which was drawn with great accuracy by Mr. Alexander.

In this Plate,

No. 1. Are ſtones cut to the curve of the arch 10 feet long.
2. An immenſe ſtone, 2 feet ſquare, of the whole depth of the arch.
3. Curved ſtones, 7 feet long.
4. Ditto, 5 feet.
5. Ditto, 3½ feet.
6. Ditto, 3 feet.
7. Ditto, 3 feet.
8.8. Stones ſimilar to No. 2. being each one entire piece running through the bridge, and intended, it would ſeem, to bind the fabric together as the pillars 9.9. are morticed into them.

There are, however, other arches wherein the ſtones are ſmaller and pointed to a centre as in ours. I have underſtood from

* A bridge with ninety-one arches will be noticed in a ſubſequent chapter.

the

CHINESE BRIDGE

Construction of the Arch of a

CHINESE BRIDGE.

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Neele sc. 332 Strand.

the late Captain Pariſh, that no maſonry could be ſuperior to that of the great wall, and that all the arched and vaulted work in the old towers was exceedingly well turned. This being the caſe, we may probably be not far amiſs in allowing the Chineſe to have employed this uſeful and ornamental part of architecture before it was known to the Greeks and the Romans. Neither the Egyptians nor the Perſians appear at any time to have applied it in their buildings. The ruins of Thebes and of Perſepolis have no arches, nor have thoſe of Balbec and Palmyra; nor do they ſeem to have been much uſed in the magnificent buildings of the Romans antecedent to the time of Auguſtus. The grand and elegant columns of all theſe nations were connected by ſtraight architraves of ſtone, of dimenſions not inferior to the columns themſelves. In the Hindoo excavations are arches cut out of the ſolid mountain; but when looſe ſtones were employed, and a building was intended to be ſuperſtructed on columns, the ſtones above the capitals were overlaid like inverted ſteps, till they met in a point in the middle above the two columns, appearing at a little diſtance exactly like the gothic arch, of which this might have given the firſt idea. If then the antiquity be admitted which the Chineſe aſcribe to the building of the great wall, and no reaſon but a negative one, the ſilence of Marco Polo, has been offered againſt it (an objection eaſily refuted), they have a claim to the invention of the arch founded on no unſolid grounds.

The cemeteries, or repoſitories of the dead, exhibit a much greater variety of monumental architecture than the dwellings of the living can boaſt of. Some indeed depoſit the remains of

their anceſtors in houſes that differ in nothing from thoſe they inhabited while living, except in their diminutive ſize; others prefer a ſquare vault, ornamented in ſuch a manner as fancy may ſuggeſt; ſome make choice of a hexagon to cover the deceaſed, and others of an octagon. The round, the triangular, the ſquare, and multangular column, is indifferently raiſed over the grave of a Chineſe; but the moſt common form of a monument to the remains of perſons of rank conſiſts in three terraces, one above another, incloſed by circular walls. The door or entrance of the vault is in the centre of the uppermoſt terrace, covered with an appropriate inſcription; and figures of ſlaves and horſes and cattle, with other creatures that, when living, were ſubſervient to them and added to their pleaſures, are employed after their death to decorate the terraces of their tombs.

" Quæ gratia currûm
" Armorumque fuit vivis, quæ cura nitentes
" Paſcere equos, eadem ſequitur tellure repoſtos."
VIRGIL, ÆNEID vi.

" Thoſe pleaſing cares the heroes felt, alive,
" For chariots, ſteeds, and arms, in death ſurvive." PITT.

It may be conſidered as ſuperfluous, after what has been ſaid, to obſerve, that no branch of natural philoſophy is made a ſtudy, or a purſuit in China. The practical application of ſome of the moſt obvious effects produced by natural cauſes could not eſcape the obſervation of a people who had, at an early period, attained ſo high a degree of civilization, but, ſatisfied with the practical part, they puſhed their enquiries no farther. Of pneumatics, hydroſtatics, electricity, and magnetiſm, they

they may be ſaid to have little or no knowledge; and their optics extend not beyond the making of convex and concave lenſes of rock cryſtal to aſſiſt the ſight in magnifying, or throwing more rays upon, ſmall objects and, by collecting to a focus the rays of the ſun, to ſet fire to combuſtible ſubſtances. Theſe lenſes are cut with a ſaw and afterwards poliſhed, the powder of cryſtal being uſed in both operations. To poliſh diamonds they make uſe of the powder of adamantine ſpar, or the corundum ſtone. In cutting different kinds of ſtone into groups of figures, houſes, mountains, and ſometimes into whole landſcapes, they diſcover more of perſevering labour, of a determination to ſubdue difficulties, which were not worth the ſubduing, than real ingenuity. Among the many remarkable inſtances of this kind of labour, there is one in the poſſeſſion of the Right Honourable Charles Greville, that deſerves to be noticed. It is a group of well formed, excavated, and highly ornamented bottles, covered with foliage and figures, raiſed in the manner of the antique *Cameos*, with moveable ring-handles, ſtanding on a baſe or pedeſtal, the whole cut out of one ſolid block of clear rock cryſtal. Yet this laborious trifle was probably ſold for a few dollars in China. It was bought in London for about thirty pounds, where it could not have been made for many times that ſum, if, indeed, it could have been made at all. All their ſpectacles that I have ſeen were cryſtal ſet in horn, tortoiſe-ſhell, or ivory. The ſingle microſcope is in common uſe, but they have never hit upon the effect of approximating objects by combining two or more lenſes, a diſcovery indeed to which in Europe we are more indebted to chance than to the reſult of ſcientific enquiry. I obſerved at *Yuen-min-*

yuen a rude kind of magic lantern, and a camera obſcura, neither of which, although evidently of Chineſe workmanſhip, appeared to wear the marks of a national invention. I ſhould rather conclude, that they were part of thoſe ſtriking and curious experiments which the early Jeſuits diſplayed at court, in order to aſtoniſh the Emperor with their profound ſkill, and raiſe their reputation as men of learning. Of the *ombres Chinoiſes* they may, perhaps, claim the invention, and in pyrotechny their ingenuity may be reckoned much ſuperior to any thing which has hitherto been exhibited in that art in Europe.

A convex lens is among the uſual appendages to the tobacco pipe. With theſe they are in the daily habit of lighting their pipes. Hence the great burning lens made by Mr. Parker of Fleet-Street, and carried out among the preſents for the Emperor, was an object that excited no admiration in the minds of the Chineſe. The difficulty of making a lens of ſuch magnitude perfect, or free from flaw, and its extraordinary powers could not be underſtood, and conſequently not appreciated by them: and although in the ſhort ſpace of four ſeconds it completely melted down one of their baſe copper coins, when the ſun was more than forty degrees beyond the meridian, it made no impreſſion of ſurprize on their uninformed minds. The only enquiry they made about it was, whether the ſubſtance was cryſtal; but being informed it was glaſs, they turned away with a ſort of diſdain, as if they would ſay, Is a lump of glaſs a proper preſent to offer to our great *Whang-tee?* The prime miniſter, *Ho-tchung-tong*, in order to convince us how very familiar articles of ſuch a nature were to him, lighted his pipe very compoſedly

compoſedly at the focus, but had a narrow eſcape from ſingeing his ſattin ſleeve, which would certainly have happened had I not given him a ſudden puſh. He ſeemed, however, to be inſenſible of his danger, and walked off without the leaſt concern.

Indeed, in ſelecting the many valuable preſents relating to ſcience, their knowledge and learning had been greatly overrated. They had little eſteem for what they could not comprehend, and ſpecimens of art ſerved only to excite their jealouſy, and to wound their pride. Whenever a future embaſſy ſhall be ſent to Pekin, I ſhould recommend articles of gold, ſilver, and ſteel, children's toys and trinkets, and perhaps a few ſpecimens of Derbyſhire ſpar, with the fineſt broad-cloth and kerſeymeres, in preference to all others; for in their preſent ſtate, they are totally incapable of appreciating any thing great or excellent in the arts and ſciences.

To alleviate the afflictions of mankind, and to aſſuage the pains which the human frame is liable to ſuffer, muſt have been among the earlieſt ſtudies of civilized ſociety; and accordingly, in the hiſtory of ancient kingdoms, we find the practitioners of the healing art regarded even to adoration. Chiron, the preceptor of Achilles, and the maſter of Æſculapius, was transferred to the heavens, where he ſtill ſhines under the name of Sagittarius. Among theſe nations, indeed, which we call ſavage, there is uſually ſhewn a more than ordinary reſpect for ſuch of their countrymen as are moſt ſkilled in removing obſtructions, allaying tumors, healing bruiſes, and, generally ſpeaking,

ſpeaking, who can apply relief to miſery. But the Chineſe, who ſeem to differ in their opinions from all the reſt of mankind, whether civilized or ſavage, pay little reſpect to the therapeutick art. They have eſtabliſhed no public ſchools for the ſtudy of medicine, nor does the purſuit of it lead to honours, rank, or fortune. Such as take up the profeſſion are generally of an inferior claſs; and the eunuchs about the palace are conſidered among their beſt phyſicians. According to their own account, the books on medicine eſcaped the fire, by which they pretend the works of learning were conſumed, in the reign of *Shee-whang-tee*, two hundred years before the Chriſtian era; and yet the beſt of their medical books of the preſent day are little better than mere herbals, ſpecifying the names and enumerating the qualities of certain plants. The knowledge of theſe plants and of their ſuppoſed virtues goes a great way towards conſtituting a phyſician. Thoſe moſt commonly employed are gin-ſing, rhubarb, and China-root. A few preparations are alſo found in their pharmacopœia from the animal and the mineral kingdoms. In the former they employ ſnakes, beetles, centipedes, and the aureliæ of the ſilk worm and other inſects; the meloe and the bee are uſed for bliſters. In the latter, ſaltpetre, ſulphur, native cinnabar, and a few other articles are occaſionally preſcribed. Opium is taken as a medicine, but more generally as a cordial to exhilarate the ſpirits. Though the importation of this drug is ſtrictly prohibited, yet, as I have before obſerved, vaſt quantities are annually ſmuggled into the country from Bengal and from Europe, through the connivance of the cuſtom-houſe officers.

The

The phyſiology of the human body, or the doctrine which explains the conſtitution of man, is neither underſtood, nor conſidered as neceſſary to be known; and their ſkill in pathology, or in the cauſes and effects of diſeaſes, is extremely limited, very often abſurd, and generally erroneous. The ſeat of moſt diſeaſes are, in fact, ſuppoſed to be diſcoverable by feeling the pulſe, agreeably to a ſyſtem built upon principles the moſt wild and extravagant. Having no knowledge whatſoever of the circulation of the blood, notwithſtanding the Jeſuits have made no ſcruple in aſſerting it was well known to them long before Europeans had any idea of it, they imagine, that every particular part of the human body has a particular pulſe aſſigned to it, and that theſe have all a correſponding and ſympathetic pulſe in the arm; thus, they ſuppoſe one pulſe to be ſituated in the heart, another in the lungs, a third in the kidneys, and ſo forth; and the ſkill of the doctor conſiſts in diſcovering the prevailing pulſe in the body, by its ſympathetic pulſations in the arm; and the mummery made uſe of on ſuch occaſions is highly ludicrous.

By eating too freely of unripe fruit at *Chu-ſan* I had a violent attack of *cholera morbus*, and on application being made to the governor for a little opium and rhubarb, he immediately diſpatched to me one of his phyſicians. With a countenance as grave and a ſolemnity as ſettled, as ever was exhibited in a conſultation over a doubtful caſe in London or Edinburgh, he fixed his eyes upon the ceiling, while he held my hand, beginning at the wriſt, and proceeding towards the bending of

the elbow, preſſing ſometimes hard with one finger, and then light with another, as if he was running over the keys of a harpſicord. This performance continued about ten minutes in ſolemn ſilence, after which he let go my hand and pronounced my complaint to have ariſen from eating ſomething that had diſagreed with the ſtomach. I ſhall not take upon me to decide whether this concluſion was drawn from his ſkill in the pulſe, or from a conjecture of the nature of the complaint from the medicines that had been demanded, and which met with his entire approbation, or from a knowledge of the fact.

Le Compte, who had leſs reaſon to be cautious, from his having left the country, than other miſſionaries who are doomed to remain there for life, poſitively ſays, that the phyſicians always endeavour to make themſelves ſecretly acquainted with the caſe of the patient, before they pronounce upon it, as their reputation depends more on their aſſigning the true cauſe of the diſorder than on the cure. He then proceeds to tell a ſtory of a friend of his who, being troubled with a ſwelling, ſent for a Chineſe phyſician. This gentleman told him very gravely, that it was occaſioned by a ſmall worm which, unleſs extracted by his ſkill, would ultimately produce gangrene and certain death. Accordingly one day after the tumour, by the application of a few poultices, was getting better, the doctor contrived to drop upon the removed poultice a little maggot, for the extraction of which he aſſumed to himſelf no ſmall degree of merit. Le Compte's ſtories, however, are not always to be depended on.

The

The prieſts are alſo a kind of doctors, and make plaiſters for a variety of purpoſes, ſome to draw out the diſeaſe to the part applied, ſome as charms againſt the evil ſpirit, and others which they pretend to be aphrodiſiac; all of which, and the laſt in particular, are in great demand among the wealthy. In this reſpect the Chineſe agree with moſt nations of antiquity, whoſe prieſts were generally employed as phyſicians. The number of quacks and venders of noſtrums is immenſe in every city who gain a livelihood by the credulity of the multitude. One of this deſcription exhibited in the public ſtreets of Canton a powder for ſale as a ſpecific for the bite of a ſnake; and to convince the crowd of its immediate efficacy, he carried with him a ſpecies of this reptile, whoſe bite was known to be extremely venemous. He applied the mouth of the animal to the tip of his tongue, which began to ſwell ſo very rapidly, that in a few minutes the mouth was no longer able to contain it. The intumeſcence continued till it ſeemed to burſt, and exhibited a ſhocking ſight of foam and blood, during which the quack appeared in extreme agonies, and excited the commiſeration of all the bye-ſtanders. In the height of the paroxyſm he applied a little of his powder to the noſe and the inflamed member, after which it gradually ſubſided, and the diſorder diſappeared. Though the probability in the city of any one perſon being bit with a ſnake was not leſs perhaps than a hundred thouſand to one, yet every perſon preſent bought of the miraculous powder, till a ſly fellow maliciouſly ſuggeſted that the whole of this ſcene might probably have been performed by means of a bladder concealed in the mouth.

But the uſual remedy for the bite of a ſnake is a topical application of ſulphur, or the bruiſed head of the ſame animal that gave the wound. The coincidence of ſuch an extravagant idea among nations as remote from each other as the equator from the pole is ſufficiently remarkable. A Roman poet obſerves,

" Quum nocuit ſerpens, fertur caput illius apte
" Vulneribus jungi: ſanat quem ſauciat ipſa."

Q. Serenus de Medicina.

If to a ſerpent's bite its head be laid,
'Twill heal the wound which by itſelf was made.

The naked legs of the Hottentots are frequently ſtung by ſcorpions, and they invariably endeavour to catch the animal, which they bruiſe and apply to the wound, being confident of the cure; the Javaneſe, or inhabitants of Java, are fully perſuaded of the efficacy of ſuch application; and the author above quoted obſerves with regard to the ſting of this inſect,

" Vulneribuſque aptus, fertur revocare venenum."

Being applied to the wound, it is ſaid to draw out the poiſon.

As it is a violation of good morals for a gentleman to be ſeen in company with ladies, much more ſo to touch the hands of the fair, the faculty rather than loſe a fee, though it commonly amounts only to fifty *tchen*, or the twentieth part of ſix ſhillings and eight-pence, have contrived an ingenious way of feeling a lady's pulſe: a ſilken cord being made faſt to the wriſt of the patient is paſſed through a hole in the wainſcot into another apartment where the doctor, applying his hand to the cord,

after a due obſervance of ſolemn mockery, decides upon the caſe and preſcribes accordingly. About court, however, a particular claſs of eunuchs only are entruſted with feeling the pulſe of the ladies.

The crowded manner in which the common people live together in ſmall apartments in all the cities, the confined ſtreets and, above all, the want of cleanlineſs in their perſons, beget ſometimes contagious diſeaſes that ſweep off whole families, ſimilar to the plague. In Pekin incredible numbers periſh in theſe contagious fevers, which more frequently happen there than in other parts of the empire, notwithſtanding the moderate temperature of the climate. In the ſouthern provinces they are neither ſo general, nor ſo fatal as might be expected, owing, I believe, in a very great degree, to the univerſal cuſtom among the maſs of the people of wearing vegetable ſubſtances next the ſkin which, being more cleanly, are conſequently more wholeſome than clothing made from animal matter. Thus, linen and cotton are preferable to ſilk and woollen next the ſkin, which ſhould be worn only by perſons of the moſt cleanly habits. Another antidote to the ill effects that might be expected from want of cleanlineſs in their houſes and their perſons, is the conſtant ventilation kept up in the former both by day and night: during warm weather, they have no other door but an open matted ſkreen, and the windows are either entirely open or of thin paper only. Notwithſtanding their want of perſonal cleanlineſs, they are little troubled with leprous or cutaneous diſeaſes, and they pretend to be totally ignorant of gout, ſtone, or gravel, which they aſcribe to the preventive effects of tea.

In

In favour of this opinion, it has been obſerved by ſome of our phyſicians, that ſince the introduction of tea into common uſe, cutaneous diſeaſes have become much more rare in Great Britain than they were before that period, which others have aſcribed, perhaps with more propriety, to the general uſe of linen; both, however, may have been inſtrumental in producing the happy effect.

The ravages of the ſmall-pox, wherever they make their appearance, are attended with a general calamity. Of theſe they pretend to diſtinguiſh above forty different ſpecies, to each of which they have given a particular name. If a good ſort breaks out, inoculation or, more properly ſpeaking, infection by artificial means becomes general. The uſual way of communicating the diſeaſe is by inſerting the matter, contained in a little cotton wool, into the noſtrils, or they put on the clothes of, or ſleep in the ſame bed with, ſuch as may have had a favourable kind; but they never introduce the matter by making any inciſion in the ſkin. This fatal diſeaſe, as appears from the records of the empire, was unknown before the tenth century, when it was perhaps introduced by the Mahomedans of Arabia who, at that period, carried on a conſiderable commerce with Canton from the Perſian gulph, and who not long before had received it from the Saracens, when they invaded and conquered the Eaſtern Empire. The ſame diſeaſe was likewiſe one of thoſe bleſſings which the mad cruſades conferred upon Europe; ſince which time, to the cloſe of the eighteenth century, not a hope had been held out of its extirpation when, happily, the invaluable diſcovery of the cow-pock, or rather the general applica-

application of that diſcovery, which had long been confined to a particular diſtrict, has furniſhed abundant grounds to hope, that this deſirable event may now be accompliſhed.

In ſome of the provinces the lower orders of people are ſaid to be dreadfully afflicted with ſore eyes, and this endemic complaint has been ſuppoſed to proceed from the copious uſe of rice; a conjecture, apparently, without any kind of foundation, as the Hindus and other Indian nations, whoſe whole diet conſiſts almoſt excluſively of this grain, are not particularly ſubject to the like diſeaſe: and in Egypt, both in ancient and modern times, the opthalmia and blindneſs were much more prevalent than in China; yet rice was neither cultivated nor known in that part of Africa until the reign of the caliphs, when it was introduced from the eaſtward. The diſeaſe in China, if prevalent there, may more probably be owing to their living in crowded and low habitations, wherein there is a perpetual ſmoke from the fire, from tapers made of ſandal wood duſt employed for marking the diviſions of the day, from the general uſe of tobacco, and from the miaſma or noxious vapours exhaling from the dirt and offals which are collected in or near their habitations. The organ of ſight may alſo be relaxed, and rendered more ſuſceptible of diſeaſe, by the conſtant practice of waſhing the face, even in the middle of ſummer, with warm water. I muſt obſerve, however, that in the courſe of our long journey, we ſaw very few blind people, or perſons afflicted with ſore eyes.

It will readily be inferred, from the ſhort view which has been taken of the ſtate of ſociety, that the diſeaſe occaſioned by an unreſtrained and promiſcuous intercourſe of the ſexes cannot be very common in China. In fact, it is ſcarcely known, and the treatment of it is ſo little underſtood, in the few caſes which do occur, that it is allowed to work its way into the ſyſtem, and is then conſidered by them as an incurable leproſy. On arriving at the northern extremity of the province of Canton, one of our conductors had imprudently paſſed the night in one of thoſe houſes where, by the licenſe of government, females are allowed to proſtitute their perſons in order to gain a livelihood. Here, it ſeems, he had caught the infection, and after ſuffering a conſiderable degree of pain, and not leſs alarm, he communicated to our phyſician the ſymptoms of his complaint, of the nature and cauſe of which he was entirely ignorant. He was a man of forty years, of a vigorous conſtitution and a gay cheerful temper, and had ſerved as an officer in ſeveral campaigns from the different provinces of northern Tartary to the frontiers of India, yet ſuch a diſeaſe did not conſiſt with his knowledge. From this circumſtance, and many others of a ſimilar kind, I conclude that, although it may ſometimes make its appearance in the capital, and even here but very rarely, it has originally, and no long time ago, found its way thither through the ports of Chu-ſan, Canton, and Macao, where numbers of abandoned woman obtain their ſubſiſtence by ſelling their favours to ſuch of every nation as may be diſpoſed to purchaſe them. It is, in fact, ſometimes called by the Chineſe the *Canton-ulcer*.

No

No male phyſician is ever allowed to preſcribe for pregnant women; and they conſider it ſo great a breach of delicacy for a man to be in the ſame room with a woman when in labour that, whatever difficulties may occur, the caſe is left entirely to the woman who attends her. There is not a man-midwife in all China, and yet the want of them does not appear to be injurious to population. They could ſcarcely believe it poſſible that, in Europe, men ſhould be allowed to practiſe a profeſſion which, in their minds, belonged excluſively to the other ſex.

As a due knowledge of the organization of the human body, of the powers and functions of the ſeveral parts, is attainable only by the ſtudy of practical anatomy, a ſtudy that would ſhock the weak nerves of a timid Chineſe, it will not be expected that their ſurgical operations ſhould either be numerous or neatly performed. The law indeed which I have had occaſion to notice, and the effects produced by it in two or three inſtances that occurred to our knowledge, will ſufficiently explain the very low ebb of chirurgical ſkill. No one will readily undertake to perform the moſt ſimple operation, where not only all the direct conſequences, but the contingencies for forty days muſt lie at his door. They ſometimes ſucceed in reducing a diſlocation, and in ſetting a ſimple fracture; but in difficult and complicate caſes, the patient is generally abandoned to chance. Amputation is never practiſed. In the courſe of our whole journey, wherein we paſſed through millions of people, I do not recollect to have ſeen a ſingle individual that had ſuſtained the loſs of a limb, and but very few in any way maimed; from whence I conclude, that accidents are uncommon, or that

ſerious ones uſually terminate in the loſs of life. A Chineſe is ſo dreadfully afraid of a ſharp cutting inſtrument, that he has not even ſubmitted to the operation of blood-letting; though the principle is admitted, as they are in the practice of drawing blood by ſcarifying the ſkin, and applying cupping veſſels. In certain complaints they burn the ſkin with ſmall pointed irons made hot, and ſometimes, after puncturing the part with ſilver needles, they ſet fire to the leaves of a ſpecies of Artimeſia upon it, in the ſame manner as the Moxa in Japan is made uſe of to cure and even prevent a number of diſeaſes, but eſpecially the gout and rheumatiſm, the former of which is ſaid to be unknown in China. Cleanſing the ears, cutting corns, pulling the joints till they crack, twitching the noſe, thumping on the back, and ſuch like operations, are annexed to the ſhaving profeſſion, by which thouſands in every city gain a livelihood. In ſhort, the whole medical ſkill of the Chineſe may be ſummed up in the words of the ingenious Doctor Gregory from the information he obtained from his friend Doctor Gillan. "In the greateſt, "moſt ancient, and moſt civilized empire on the face of the "earth, an empire that was great, populous, and highly civi- "lized two thouſand years ago, when this country was as ſa- "vage as New Zealand is at preſent, no ſuch good medical "aid can be obtained among the people of it, as a ſmart "boy of ſixteen, who had been but twelve months ap- "prentice to a good and well employed Edinburgh Sur- "geon, might reaſonably be expected to afford." If," continues the Doctor, "the Emperor of China, the abſolute "monarch of three hundred and thirty-three millions of "people, more than twice as many as all Europe contains,

" were attacked with a pleuriſy, or got his leg broken, it " would be happy for him to get ſuch a boy for his firſt phy- " ſician and ſerjeant-ſurgeon. The boy (if he had ſeen his " maſter's practice in but one or two ſimilar caſes) would cer- " tainly know how to ſet his Imperial Majeſty's leg, and would " probably cure him of his pleuriſy, which none of his own ſub- " jects could do."

Having thus given a ſlight ſketch of the ſtate of ſome of the leading branches in ſcience, arts, and manufactures, omitting purpoſely that of agriculture, which will be noticed among the ſubjects of a future ſection, I think, upon the whole, it may fairly be concluded, that the Chineſe have been among the firſt nations, now exiſting in the world, to arrive at a certain pitch of perfection, where, from the policy of the govern- ment, or ſome other cauſe, they have remained ſtationary: that they were civilized, fully to the ſame extent they now are, more than two thouſand years ago, at a period when all Europe might be conſidered, comparatively, as barbarous; but that they have ſince made little progreſs in any thing, and been re- trograde in many things: that, at this moment, compared with Europe, they can only be ſaid to be great in trifles, whilſt they are really trifling in every thing that is great. I cannot how- ever exactly ſubſcribe to an opinion pronounced on them by a learned and elegant writer*, who was well verſed in oriental litera- ture, as being rather too unqualified; but he was leſs acquainted with their character than that of any other Aſiatic nation, and totally ignorant of their language. " Their letters," ſays he,

* Sir William Jones.

" if we may ſo call them, are merely the ſymbols of ideas;
" their philoſophy ſeems yet in ſo rude a ſtate, as hardly to
" deſerve the appellation; they have no ancient monuments
" from which their origin can be traced, even by plauſible con-
" jecture; their ſciences are wholly exotic; and their mecha-
" nical arts have nothing in them characteriſtic of a particular
" family; nothing which any ſet of men, in a country ſo high-
" ly favoured by nature, might not have diſcovered and im-
" proved."

CHAP. VII.

Government—Laws—Tenures of Land and Taxes—Revenues —Civil and Military Ranks, and Eſtabliſhments.

Opinions on which the Executive Authority is grounded.—Principle on which an Emperor of China ſeldom appears in public.—The Cenſorate.—Public Departments.—Laws.—Scale of Crimes and Puniſhments.—Laws regarding Homicide.—Curious Law Caſe.—No Appeal from Civil Suits.—Defects in the Executive Government.—Duty of Obedience and Power of perſonal Correction.—Ruſſia and China compared.—Fate of the Prime Miniſter Ho-chang-tong.—*Yearly Calendar and Pekin Gazette, engines of Government.—Freedom of the Preſs.—Duration of the Government attempted to be explained.—Precautions of Government to prevent Inſurrections.—Taxes and Revenues.—Civil and Military Eſtabliſhments.—Chineſe Army, its Numbers and Appointments.—Conduct of the Tartar Government at the Conqueſt.—Impolitic Change of late Years, and the probable Conſequences of it.*

THE late period at which the nations of Europe became firſt acquainted with the exiſtence even of that vaſt extent of country comprehended under the name of China, the difficulties of acceſs to any part of it when known, the peculiar nature of the language which, as I have endeavoured to prove, has no relation with any other either ancient or modern, the extreme jealouſy of the government towards foreigners, and the contempt in which they were held by the loweſt of the people, may ſerve,

ſerve, among other cauſes, to account for the very limited and imperfect knowledge we have hitherto obtained of the real hiſtory of this extraordinary empire: for their records, it ſeems, are by no means deficient. For two centuries at leaſt before the Chriſtian era, down to the preſent time, the tranſactions of each reign are amply detailed without any interruption. They have even preſerved collections of copper coins, forming a regular ſeries of the different Emperors that have filled the throne of China for the laſt two thouſand years. Such a collection, though not quite complete, Sir George Staunton brought with him to England.

Before this time, when China conſiſted of a number of petty ſtates or principalities, the annals of the country are ſaid to abound with recitals of wars and battles and bloodſhed, like thoſe of every other part of the world. But, in proportion as the number of theſe diſtinct kingdoms diminiſhed, till at length they were all melted and amalgamated into one great empire, the deſtruction of the human race by human means abated, and the government, ſince that time, has been leſs interrupted by foreign war, or domeſtic commotion, than any other that hiſtory has made known. But whether this deſirable ſtate of public tranquillity may have been brought about by the peculiar nature of the government being adapted to the genius and habits of the people, which in the opinion of Ariſtotle is the beſt of all poſſible governments, or rather by conſtraining and ſubduing the genius and habits of the people to the views and maxims of the government, is a queſtion that may admit of ſome diſpute. At the preſent day, however, it is ſufficiently evident, that the

of any office or department is ſuppoſed to preſide over it with the ſame authority, intereſt, and affection, as the father of a family ſuperintends and manages the concerns of domeſtic life.

It is greatly to be lamented that a ſyſtem of government, ſo plauſible in theory, ſhould be liable to ſo many abuſes in practice; and that this fatherly care and affection in the governors, and filial duty and reverence in the governed would, with much more propriety, be expreſſed by the terms of tyranny, oppreſſion, and injuſtice in the one, and by fear, deceit, and diſobedience in the other.

The firſt grand maxim on which the Emperor acts is, ſeldom to appear before the public, a maxim whoſe origin would be difficultly traced to any principle of affection or ſolicitude for his children; much more eaſily explained as the offspring of ſuſpicion. The tyrant who may be conſcious of having committed, or aſſented to, acts of cruelty and oppreſſion, muſt feel a reluctance to mix with thoſe who may have ſmarted under the laſh of his power, naturally concluding that ſome ſecret hand may be led, by a ſingle blow, to avenge his own wrongs, or thoſe of his fellow ſubjects. The principle, however, upon which the Emperor of China ſeldom ſhews himſelf in public, and then only in the height of ſplendor and magnificence, ſeems to be eſtabliſhed on a policy of a very different kind to that of ſelf-preſervation. A power that acts in ſecret, and whoſe influence is felt near and remote at the ſame moment, makes a ſtronger impreſſion on the mind, and is regarded with more dread

dread and awful reſpect, than if the agent was always viſible and familiar to the eye of every one. The prieſts of the Eleuſinian myſteries were well acquainted with this feature of the human character, which is ſtronger in proportion as the reaſoning faculties are leſs improved, and which required the enlightened mind of a Socrates to be able to diſregard the terror they inſpired among the vulgar. Thus alſo *Deiŏces*, as Heredotus informs us, when once eſtabliſhed as king in Ecbatana, would ſuffer none of the people, for whom before he was the common advocate, to be now admitted to his preſence, concluding that all thoſe who were debarred from ſeeing him, would eaſily be perſuaded that his nature, by being created king, was transformed into ſomething much ſuperior to theirs. A frequent acceſs indeed to men of rank and power and talents, a familiar and unreſtrained intercourſe with them, and a daily obſervance of their ordinary actions and engagements in the concerns of life, have a tendency very much to diminiſh that reverence and reſpect which public opinion had been willing to allow them. It was juſtly obſerved by the great Condé, that no man is a hero to his valet-de-chambre.

Conſiderations of this kind, rather than any dread of his ſubjects, may probably have ſuggeſted the cuſtom which prohibits an Emperor of China from making his perſon too familiar to the multitude, and which requires that he ſhould exhibit himſelf only on particular occaſions, arrayed in pomp and magnificence, and at the head of his whole court, conſiſting of an aſſemblage of many thouſand officers of ſtate, the agents of his

will, all ready, at the word of command, to proſtrate themſelves at his feet.

The power of the ſovereign is abſolute; but the patriarchal ſyſtem, making it a point of indiſpenſable duty for a ſon to bring offerings to the ſpirit of his deceaſed parent in the moſt public manner, operates as ſome check upon the exerciſe of this power. By this civil inſtitution, the duties of which are obſerved with more than a religious ſtrictneſs, he is conſtantly put in mind that the memory of his private conduct, as well as of his public acts, will long ſurvive his natural life; that his name will, at certain times in every year, be pronounced with a kind of ſacred and reverential awe, from one extremity of the extenſive empire to the other, provided he may have filled his ſtation to the ſatisfaction of his ſubjects; and that, on the contrary, public execrations will reſcue from oblivion any arbitrary act of injuſtice and oppreſſion, of which he may have been guilty. It may alſo operate as a motive for being nice and circumſpect in the nomination of a ſucceſſor, which the law has left entirely to his choice.

The conſideration, however, of poſthumous fame, would operate only as a ſlender reſtraint on the caprices of a tyrant, as the hiſtory of this, as well as other countries, furniſhes abundant examples. It has, therefore, been thought neceſſary to add another, and perhaps a more effectual check, to curb any diſpoſition to licentiouſneſs or tyranny that might ariſe in the breaſt of the monarch. This is the appointment of the cenſo-

rate,

rate, an office filled by two perſons, who have the power of remonſtrating freely againſt any illegal or unconſtitutional act about to be committed, or ſanctioned by the Emperor. And although it may well be ſuppoſed, that theſe men are extremely cautious in the exerciſe of the power delegated to them, by virtue of their office, and in the diſcharge of this diſagreeable part of their duty, yet they have another taſk to perform, on which their own poſthumous fame is not leſs involved than that of their maſter, and in the execution of which they run leſs riſk of giving offence. They are the hiſtoriographers of the empire; or, more correctly ſpeaking, the biographers of the Emperor. Their employment, in this capacity, conſiſts chiefly in collecting the ſentiments of the monarch, in recording his ſpeeches and memorable ſayings, and in noting down the moſt prominent of his private actions, and the remarkable occurrences of his reign. Theſe records are lodged in a large cheſt, which is kept in that part of the palace where the tribunals of government are held, and which is ſuppoſed not to be opened until the deceaſe of the Emperor; and, if any thing material to the injury of his character and reputation is found to be recorded, the publication of it is delayed, out of delicacy to his family, till two or three generations have paſſed away, and ſometimes till the expiration of the dynaſty; by this indulgence they pretend, that a more faithful relation is likely to be obtained, in which neither fear nor flattery could have operated to diſguiſe the truth.

An inſtitution, ſo remarkable and ſingular in its kind in an arbitrary government, could not fail to carry with it a very

powerful influence upon the deciſions of the monarch, and to make him ſolicitous to act, on all occaſions, in ſuch a manner, as would be moſt likely to ſecure a good name, and to tranſmit his character unſullied and ſacred to poſterity. The records of their hiſtory are ſaid to mention a ſtory of an Emperor, of the dynaſty or family of *Tang*, who, from a conſciouſneſs of having, in ſeveral inſtances, tranſgreſſed the bounds of his authority, was determined to take a peep into the hiſtorical cheſt, where he knew he ſhould find all his actions recorded. Having made uſe of a variety of arguments, in order to convince the two cenſors that there could be nothing improper in the ſtep he was about to take, as, among other things, he aſſured them, he was actuated with the deſire only of being made acquainted with his greateſt faults, as the firſt ſtep to amendment, one of theſe gentlemen is ſaid to have anſwered him very nobly, to this effect: "It is true your Majeſty has committed a "number of errors, and it has been the painful duty of our "employment to take notice of them; a duty," continued he, "which further obliges us to inform poſterity of the converſation which your Majeſty has this day, very improperly, "held with us."

To aſſiſt the Emperor in the weighty affairs of ſtate, and in the arduous taſk of governing an empire of ſo great an extent, and ſuch immenſe population, the conſtitution has aſſigned him two councils, one ordinary, and the other extraordinary; the ordinary council is compoſed of his principal miniſters, under the name of Collao, of which there are ſix. The extraordinary council conſiſts entirely of the princes of the blood.

For

For the adminiſtration of the affairs of government, there are ſix boards or departments, conſiſting of,

1. The Court of Appointments to vacancies in the offices of government, being compoſed of the miniſter and learned men, qualified to judge of the merits of candidates.

2. The Court of Finance.

3. The Court of Ceremonies, preſiding over the direction of ancient cuſtoms, and treating with foreign Embaſſadors.

4. The Court for regulating military affairs.

5. The Tribunal of Juſtice.

6. The Board of Works.

Theſe public functionaries reſolve upon, recommend, and report to the Emperor, all matters belonging to their ſeparate juriſdictions; who, with the advice of his ordinary and, if conſidered to be neceſſary, of his extraordinary council, affirms, amends, or rejects their decrees. For this purpoſe, the late Emperor never omitted to give regular audience in the great hall of the palace every morning at the hours of four or five o'clock. Subordinate to theſe ſupreme courts held in the capital, are others of ſimilar conſtitution eſtabliſhed in the different provinces

vinces and great cities of the empire, each of which correſponds with its principal in Pekin.

It would far exceed the limits of the preſent work, were I to enter into a detail of their code of laws, which indeed I am not ſufficiently prepared to do. They are publiſhed for the uſe of the ſubject, in the plaineſt characters that the language will admit, making ſixteen ſmall volumes, a copy of which is now in England; and I am encouraged to hold out a reaſonable hope, that this compendium of the laws of China may, ere long, appear in an able and faithful Engliſh tranſlation, which will explain, more than all the volumes that have hitherto been written on the ſubject of China, in what manner a maſs of people, more than the double of that which is found in all Europe, has been kept together through ſo many ages in one bond of union. This work* on the laws of China, for perſpicuity and method, may juſtly be compared with Blackſtone's Commentaries on the Laws of England. It not only contains the laws arranged under their reſpective heads, but to every law is added a ſhort commentary and a caſe.

I have been aſſured, on the beſt authority, that the laws of China define, in the moſt diſtinct and perſpicuous manner, almoſt every ſhade of criminal offences, and the puniſhment awarded to each crime: that the greateſt care appears to have been taken in conſtructing this ſcale of crimes and puniſhments; that they are very far from being ſanguinary: and that if

* It is called the *Ta tchin Leu-Lee*, the laws and inſtitutes under the dynaſty *Ta-tchin*, which is the name aſſumed by the preſent family on the throne.

the

the practice was equal to the theory, few nations could boaſt of a more mild, and, at the ſame time, a more efficacious diſpenſation of juſtice. Of all the deſpotic governments exiſting, there is certainly none where the life of man is held ſo ſacred as in the laws of China. A murder is never overlooked, except in the horrid practice of expoſing infants: nor dares the Emperor himſelf, all-powerful as he is, to take away the life of the meaneſt ſubject, without the formality at leaſt of a regular proceſs, though, as will be ſeen in the caſe of the late prime miniſter of *Kien-Long*, the chance of eſcaping muſt be very ſlender, where he himſelf becomes the accuſer. So tenaciouſly however do they adhere to that ſolemn declaration of God delivered to Noah—"At the hand of every man's brother will I "require the life of man. Whoſo ſheddeth man's blood, by "man ſhall his blood be ſhed,"—that the good intention is oftentimes defeated by requiring, as I have elſewhere obſerved, from the perſon laſt ſeen in company with one who may have received a mortal wound, or who may have died ſuddenly, a circumſtantial account, ſupported by evidence, in what manner his death was occaſioned.

In attempting to proportion puniſhments to the degrees of crimes, inſtead of awarding the ſame puniſhment for ſtealing a loaf of bread and taking away the life of man, the Chineſe legiſlators, according to our notions, ſeem to have made too little diſtinction between accidental manſlaughter and premeditated murder. To conſtitute the crime, it is not neceſſary to prove the intention or malice aforethought; for though want of intention palliates the offence, and conſequently mitigates the

puniſhment, yet it never entirely excuſes the offender. If a man ſhould kill another by an unforeſeen and unavoidable accident, his life is forfeited by the law, and however favourable the circumſtances may appear in behalf of the criminal, the Emperor alone is inveſted with the power of remitting the ſentence, a power which he very rarely if ever exerciſes to the extent of a full pardon but, on many occaſions, to a mitigation of the puniſhment awarded by law. Strictly ſpeaking, no ſentence of death can be carried into execution until it has been ratified by the monarch. Yet in ſtate crimes, or in acts of great atrocity, the viceroy of a province ſometimes takes upon himſelf to order ſummary puniſhment, and prompt execution has been inflicted on foreign criminals at Canton when guilty only of homicide. Thus, about the beginning of the laſt century, a man belonging to Captain Shelvocke had the misfortune to kill a Chineſe on the river. The corpſe was laid before the door of the Engliſh factory, and the firſt perſon that came out, who happened to be one of the ſupercargoes, was ſeized and carried as a priſoner into the city, nor would they conſent to his releaſe till the criminal was given up, whom, after a ſhort inquiry, they ſtrangled. The recent affair of the unfortunate gunner is well known. An affray happened in Macao a few years ago, in which a Chineſe was killed by the Portugueſe. A peremptory demand was made for one of the latter, to expiate the death of the former. The government of this place, either unable or unwilling to fix on the delinquent, propoſed terms of compromiſe, which were rejected and force was threatened to be uſed. There happened to be a merchant from Manilla then reſiding at Macao, a man of excellent character,

racter, who had long carried on a commerce between the two ports. This unfortunate man was ſelected to be the innocent victim to appeaſe the rigour of Chineſe juſtice, and he was immediately ſtrangled *.

The proceſs of every trial for criminal offences, of which the puniſhment is capital, muſt be tranſmitted to Pekin, and ſubmit-

* Various accidents having happened at different times to Chineſe ſubjects in the port of Canton, which have generally led to diſagreeable diſcuſſions with the Chineſe government, the ſupercargoes of the Eaſt India Company thought proper, on a late occaſion of a perſon being wounded by a ſhot from a Britiſh ſhip of war, to make application for an extract from the criminal code of laws relating to homicide, in order to have the ſame tranſlated into Engliſh, and made public. This extract conſiſted of the following articles:

1. A man who kills another on the ſuppoſition of theft, ſhall be ſtrangled, according to the law of homicide committed in an affray.
2. A man who fires at another with a muſquet, and kills him thereby, ſhall be beheaded, as in caſes of wilful murder. If the ſufferer be wounded, but not mortally, the offender ſhall be ſent into exile.
3. A man who puts to death a criminal who had been apprehended, and made no reſiſtance, ſhall be ſtrangled, according to the law againſt homicide committed in an affray.
4. A man who falſely accuſes an innocent perſon of theft (in caſes of greateſt criminality) is guilty of a capital offence; in all other caſes the offenders, whether principals or acceſſaries, ſhall be ſent into exile.
5. A man who wounds another unintentionally ſhall be tried according to the law reſpecting blows given in an affray, and the puniſhment rendered more or leſs ſevere, according to the degree of injury ſuſtained.
6. A man who, intoxicated with liquor, commits outrages againſt the laws, ſhall be exiled to a deſert country, there to remain in a ſtate of ſervitude.

In this clear and deciſive manner are puniſhments awarded for every claſs of crimes committed in ſociety; and it was communicated to the Engliſh factory from the viceroy, that on no conſideration was it left in the breaſt of the judge to extenuate or to exaggerate the ſentence, whatever might be the rank, character, or ſtation of the delinquent.

ted to the impartial eye of the ſupreme tribunal of juſtice, which affirms or alters, according to the nature of the caſe. And where any peculiar circumſtances appear in favour of the accuſed, an order for reviſing the ſentence is recommended to the Emperor, who, in ſuch caſes, either amends it himſelf, or directs the proceedings to be returned to the provincial court, with the ſentiments of the ſupreme tribunal on the caſe. The proceedings are then reviſed, and if the circumſtances are found to apply to the ſuggeſtions of the high court, they alter or modify their former ſentence accordingly *.

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* The following law caſe, which is literally tranſlated from a volume of reports of trials, publiſhed in the preſent reign of *Kia-King*, and with which I have been favoured by a friend (who was himſelf the tranſlator), will ſerve to ſhew the mode of proceeding in criminal matters of the provincial courts of judicature. The circumſtances of the tranſaction appear to have been enquired into fairly and impartially, and no pains ſpared to aſcertain the exact degree of criminality. Being given to me about the time when the trial took place of Smith, for the murder of the ſuppoſed *Hammerſmith ghoſt*, I was forcibly ſtruck with the remarkable coincidence of the two caſes, and with the almoſt identical defence ſet up by the Chineſe and the Engliſh priſoners, and on that account it excited more intereſt than perhaps it might otherwiſe be conſidered to be entitled to.

Tranſlation of an Extract from a Collection of Chineſe Law Reports, being the Trial, Appeal, and Sentence upon an Indictment for Homicide by Gun firing.

At a criminal court held in the province of Fo-kien, upon an indictment for ſhooting, and mortally wounding a relation; ſetting forth, that *She-ſo-pao*, native of the city of *Fo-ngan-ſien*, did fire a gun, and by miſchance wound *Vang-yung-man*, ſo that he died thereof.

The caſe was originally reported, as follows, by *Fu-ſe-Kang*, ſub-viceroy of the province of Fo-kien:

The accuſed *She-ſo-pao*, and the deceaſed *Vang-yung-man*, were of different families, but connected by marriage, were well known to each other, and there had always been a good underſtanding between them.

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As in ſome of the Grecian ſtates, and other nations of modern times, the puniſhment of treaſon was extended to the relations of the criminal, ſo in China, even to the ninth generation,

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In the courſe of the firſt moon, of the 25th year of *Kien-long*, *She-ſo-pao* cultivated a farm on the brow of a hill belonging to *Chin-ſe-kien*, and which lay in the vicinity of certain lands cultivated by *Vang-yung-man* and *Vang-ky-hao*, inaſmuch as that the fields of *Vang-yung-man* lay on the left of thoſe of *She-ſo-pao*, which were in the center, and thoſe of *Vang-ky-hao* on the right ſide of the declivity of the hill. It occurred that on the 7th day of the 9th moon of the ſame year, *She-ſo-pao* obſerving the corn in his fields to be nearly ripe, was apprehenſive that thieves might find an opportunity of ſtealing the grain; and being aware, at the ſame time, of the danger which exiſted on thoſe hills from wolves and tygers, armed himſelf with a muſquet, and went that night alone to the ſpot, in order to watch the corn, and ſeated himſelf in a convenient place on the ſide of the hill. It happened that *Vang-ky-hao* went that day to the houſe of *Vang-yung-man*, in order that they might go together to keep watch over the corn in their reſpective fields. However *Vang-yung-tong* the elder brother of *Vang-yung-man*, conceiving it to be yet early, detained them to drink tea, and ſmoke tobacco until the ſecond watch * of the night, when they parted from him, and proceeded on their expedition, provided with large ſticks for defence.

Vang-ky-hao having occaſion to ſtop for a ſhort time upon the road, the other *Vang-yung-man* went on before, until he reached the boundary of the fields watched by *She-ſo-pao*.

She-ſo-pao, on hearing a ruſtling noiſe among the corn, and perceiving the ſhadow of a perſon through the obſcurity of the night, immediately hailed him, but the wind blowing very freſh, he did not hear any reply. *She-ſo-pao* then took alarm, on the ſuſpicion that the ſound proceeded from thieves, or elſe from wild beaſts, and lighting the match-lock, which he held in his hand, fired it off, in order to repel the invaders whoever they might be.

Vang-yung-man was wounded by the ſhot in the head, cheeks, neck, and ſhoulder, and inſtantly fell to the ground. *Vang-ky-hao* hearing the exploſion, haſtened forward, and called aloud to enquire who had fired the gun. The other heard the voice, and going to the place from whence it proceeded, then learned whom he had

* Each watch is two hours, and the ſecond watch begins at eleven o'clock.

tion, a traitor's blood is ſuppoſed to be tainted, though they uſually ſatisfy the law by including only the neareſt male relations, then living, in the guilt of the culprit, and by mitigating their

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wounded by the miſchance. The wounds of *Vang-yung-man* being mortal, he expired after a very ſhort interval of time had elapſed.

She-ſo-pao, being repeatedly examined by the magiſtrate, acknowledged the fact without reſerve; and, upon the ſtricteſt inveſtigation and enquiry being entered upon, depoſed, That it was really during the obſcurity of the night that he had aſcended the hill, in order to watch the corn, and on hearing a noiſe to proceed from a quarter of the field that was extremely dark, and in which the ſhadow of ſome perſon was diſcernable, he had called out, but received no anſwer:—That the ſuſpicion then aroſe in his mind, that they were either thieves or wild beaſts, and alarmed him for the ſecurity of his perſon, being then entirely alone; he therefore fired the gun to repel the danger, and wounded *Vang-yung-man* by miſchance, ſo that he afterwards died.

That he, the deponent, was not actuated by any other motive or intention on this occaſion, nor deſirous of cauſing the death of an individual. The relations of the deceaſed being then examined, gave a correſponding evidence, and raiſed no doubts in other reſpects to the truth of the above depoſition. In conſideration, therefore, hereof it appears that, although *She-ſo-pao* is guilty of homicide by gun-firing, yet, ſince he was upon the watch over the fields, in the darkneſs of the night, and perceived the ſhadow of a man, whom he hailed, and from whom he received no anſwer, and had in conſequence apprehended the approach of thieves or wild beaſts, to prevent which, he fired the gun that occaſioned the wounds whereof the man is now dead—It follows, that there did not exiſt any premeditated intention of murder.—The act of which *She-ſo-pao* ſtands convicted may be, therefore, ranked under the article of homicide committed in an affray, and the ſentence accordingly is, to be ſtrangled upon the next enſuing general execution or gaol delivery.

The above report being tranſmitted to the ſupreme criminal tribunal at Pekin,—They rejoin,

That, on inveſtigation of the laws we find it ordained, that homicide by gun-firing ſhall receive a ſentence conformable to the law againſt intentional murder; and that the law againſt intentional murder gives a ſentence of decapitation on the next enſuing public execution, or gaol delivery. It is likewiſe found to be ordained by law, that

their puniſhment to that of exile. Nothing can be more unjuſt and abſurd, however politic, than ſuch a law; abſurd, becauſe it conſiders a non-entity capable of committing a crime; and unjuſt,

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that whoever ſhall unwarily draw a bow, and ſhoot an arrow towards fields or tenements, ſo that any perſon unperceived therein ſhall be wounded, and die therefrom, the offender ſhall receive a hundred blows with the bamboo, and be baniſhed to the diſtance of three thouſand lys (near a thouſand miles).

In the caſe now before us, *She-ſo-pao*, being armed with a muſquet, goes to watch the corn, hears a noiſe in the fields, and calls aloud, but, receiving no anſwer, ſuſpects it to proceed from thieves or wild beaſts, and fires the gun, by which *Vang-yung-man* was wounded, and is now dead. But in the depoſition given in by the defendant, the declaration that he ſaw the ſhadow of ſome perſon does not accord with the ſuſpicion afterwards expreſſed, that the noiſe aroſe from wild beaſts. If, in truth, he diſtinguiſhed traces of a man, at the time of his calling out, notwithſtanding that the violence of the wind prevented his hearing the reply, *She-ſo-pao* had ocular proof of the reality of the perſon from the ſhadow he had ſeen. Continuing our inveſtigation, we have further to notice, that when *She-ſo-pao* took his ſtation in order to guard the middle ground, *Vang-yung-man* was engaged in watching his fields in a ſimilar manner, and would have occaſion to go near the limits of the middle ground in his way to his own farm, and which could not be far removed from the path leading to the middle ground; on which account it behoved *She-ſo-pao* to hail the perſon repeatedly, previous to the firing of the gun, whoſe effect would be inſtantaneous, and occaſion the death of the unknown perſon from whom the ſound proceeded.

She-ſo-pao not having repeatedly hailed the perſon from whom the noiſe had ariſen to diſturb him, and proceeding to the laſt extremity upon the firſt impulſe or alarm, are grounds for ſuſpecting that there exiſts a fallacy and diſguiſe in the teſtimony given in this affair, in which caſe, a ſentence conformable to the law againſt homicide, committed in an affray, would afford a puniſhment unequal and inadequate to the poſſible aggravation of the offence.

On the other hand, it would appear, in confirmation of his ſtatement, that theſe fields were, according to the cuſtom of the neighbouring villages, underſtood to be guarded at that time in the manner aforeſaid, and that circumſtance proving true, the accident that followed might ſtill be conſidered ſolely as the effect of apprehenſion

unjuſt, becauſe it puniſhes an innocent perſon. The lawgiver of Iſrael, in order to intimidate his ſtiff-necked and rebellious ſubjects, found it expedient to threaten the viſitation of God on the

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ſion of wild beaſts by night, inducing the accuſed to fire towards fields or tenements, ſo as to wound a man mortally by the miſchance.

Should a ſtrict examination admit of this interpretation of the offence, the ſentence may be awarded according to the law, immediately applicable to the ſubject, and not in conformity with the law againſt homicide committed in an affray. As the life or death of the offender reſts on the preference to be ſhewn towards either of thoſe expoſitions of the caſe, it is reſolved to hold any immediate deciſion as premature, and we iſſue our directions to the ſaid ſub-viceroy to reviſe the prior deciſion; and, with the aſſiſtance of a renewed inveſtigation, finally to determine and report to us the ſentence which he may conceive moſt agreeable to the ſpirit of our laws.

After a ſecond inveſtigation, and reconſideration of the affair, the ſub-viceroy ſent in the following report to the ſupreme tribunal: Purſuant to the order for reviſal iſſued by the ſupreme criminal tribunal, *She-ſo-pao* has been again examined at the bar, and depoſes, That on hearing a noiſe in the corn fields, he conceived it to proceed from thieves, and called out in conſequence, but, receiving no anſwer, and finding the noiſe gradually to approach him, he then ſuſpected it to have ariſen from a wolf or tyger; and, in the alarm thus excited for his perſonal ſafety, had fired the gun, by which *Vang-yung-man* had been mortally wounded; That, ſince the event happened in the ſecond watch of the night, after the moon had ſet, and while clouds obſcured the faint light of the ſtars, it was really a moment of impenetrable darkneſs; and that it was only at the diſtance of a few paces that he diſtinguiſhed the approach of the ſound that had alarmed him, but, in fact, had never ſeen any ſhadow or traces whatſoever; That had he perceived any traces or ſhadow of that deſcription, he would not have ceaſed to call out, though he had failed to receive an anſwer the firſt time, nor would he have had the temerity to fire the gun, and render himſelf guilty of murder.

That, on the preceding examination, the ſeverity and rigour of the enquiry regarding the grounds upon which he ſuſpected the approach of thieves, ſo as to induce him to fire, had overcome him with fear, being a countryman unuſed to ſimilar proceedings, and produced the apparent incongruity in his depoſition, but that the true meaning and intent was to expreſs his abſolute uncertainty whether the alarm aroſe from thieves or wild beaſts, and nothing farther; and that from

the children, for the ſins of the fathers, unto the third and fourth generation, a ſentiment however which, it would ſeem, lapſe of time had rendered leſs expedient, for the prophet Ezekiel,

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ſuch depoſition he had never intentionally ſwerved in the courſe of the inveſtigation.

According, therefore, to the amendment ſuggeſted by the ſupreme tribunal, it appears indeed, that when the noiſe was firſt perceived in the fields, *She-ſo-pao* had called out, and on being prevented by the wind from hearing a reply, had taken alarm as aforeſaid.

And whereas it was likewiſe depoſed by *She-ſo-pao*, That the grain being ripe at that ſeaſon, the ſtems were exceeding high and ſtrong, ſo as to render it difficult to walk amongſt them, it ſeems that *Vang-yung-man*, in walking through the corn, had produced a ruſtling noiſe very audible to *She-ſo-pao*, who was ſitting on the declivity of the hill, and in a direction in which the wind favoured the progreſs of the ſound; but when the latter called out, the wind, on the contrary, prevented him from being heard, and conſequently from receiving an anſwer; this miſchance, therefore, gave riſe to his ſuſpicion of the approach of wild beaſts, which appears to have been the ſole and undiſguiſed motive for firing the gun.

This ſtatement of facts being narrowly inveſtigated, in compliance with the ſupreme tribunal's order for reviſal, may be confided in as accurate, and worthy of credit; the reſult, therefore, is that the offender during the darkneſs of the night, and under the apprehenſion of the approach of a wolf or tyger, had fired a muſquet in a ſpot frequented by men, and had mortally wounded a man by the miſchance, which correſponds with the law ſuggeſted in the order for reviſal iſſued by the ſupreme tribunal; namely, that law againſt an offender who ſhould unwarily draw a bow and ſhoot an arrow towards fields or tenements, ſo that any perſon unperceived therein ſhould be wounded and die therefrom.

The prior deciſion, conformably to the law againſt homicide committed in an affray, ſubſequent inveſtigation does not confirm; and *She-ſo-pao* is, therefore, only puniſhable with baniſhment.

This ſecond report being received by the ſupreme criminal tribunal, they declare that,

The ſentence having been altered on a reviſion by the ſub-viceroy, and rendered conformable to the law, which ordains that, whoever ſhall unwarily draw a bow and

ſhoot

kiel, who on this ſubject had more elevated notions of moral right than either the Greeks or the Chineſe, ſpurns it with great indignation. In alluſion to ſuch an idea, which it ſeems had become a proverb among the Jews, he breaks out into this ſublime exclamation: "What mean ye that ye uſe this pro-"verb concerning the land of Iſrael, ſaying, The fathers have "eaten ſour grapes, and the children's teeth are ſet on edge? "As I live, ſaith the Lord, ye ſhall not have occaſion any "more to uſe this proverb in Iſrael. Behold all ſouls are "mine; as the ſoul of the father, ſo alſo the ſoul of the ſon, is "mine. The ſoul that ſinneth, *it* ſhall die. The ſon ſhall not "bear the iniquity of the father, neither ſhall the father bear "the inquity of the ſon: the righteouſneſs of the righteous "ſhall be upon *him*, and the wickedneſs of the wicked ſhall be "upon *him*."

In moſt cauſes, except thoſe of high treaſon, it may be preſumed, the high tribunal of Pekin will act with ſtrict impar-

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ſhoot an arrow towards fields or tenements, ſo that any perſon unperceived therein may be wounded, and die therefrom, the offender ſhall receive a hundred blows with the bamboo, and ſuffer baniſhment to the diſtance of 3000 lys.

We confirm the ſentence of a hundred blows of the bamboo, and baniſhment to the diſtance of 3000 lys; and further preſcribe, that ten ounces of ſilver (3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) ſhall be paid by the offender to the relations of the deceaſed for the expences of burial.

The ſentence, being thus pronounced on the 19th day of the 5th moon, of the 27th year of *Kien-Long*, received the Imperial ſanction on the 21ſt day of the ſame moon, in the following words: Purſuant to ſentence be this obeyed.

KHIN-TSE.

tiality.

tiality. And it is greatly to be lamented, that all civil cauſes have not been made ſubject to a ſimilar reviſion as thoſe of a criminal nature, which would ſtrike at the root of an evil that is moſt grievouſly felt in China, where the officers of juſtice are known, in moſt caſes, to be corrupted by bribery. They have, however, wiſely ſeparated the office of judge from that of the legiſlator. The former, having found the fact, has only to refer to the code of laws, in which he is ſupplied with a ſcale of crimes and their puniſhments. Such a mode of diſtributing juſtice is not however without its inconveniences. Tender as the government has ſhewn itſelf, where the life of a ſubject is concerned, having once eſtabliſhed the proportion of puniſhment to the offence it has ſuppoſed an appeal, in civil cauſes and miſdemeanors, to be unneceſſary. The ſentence in ſuch cauſes being thus left in the breaſt of a ſingle judge, how great ſoever may be the nicety by which the penalty is adapted to the offence, the excluſion from appeal is in itſelf a bar to the juſt and impartial adminiſtration of the laws. The ſubject being refuſed the benefit of carrying his cauſe into a higher, and on that account more likely to be a more impartial, court, has no ſecurity againſt the caprice, malice, or corruption of his judge.

It may not perhaps be thought unworthy of notice that the legiſlators of China, among the various puniſhments deviſed for the commiſſion of crimes, have given the criminal no opportunity, either by labouring at any of the public works, or in ſolitary confinement, to make ſome reparation for the injury he has committed againſt ſociety. Confinement in priſon, as a

puniſhment, is not known. Exile or perſonal chaſtiſement are decreed for all irregularities not approaching to capital offences.

Executions for capital crimes are not frequently exhibited; when found guilty the criminals are remanded to priſon till a general gaol delivery, which happens once a year, about the autumnal equinox. In adopting ſuch a meaſure government may perhaps have conſidered, how little benefit the morals of the people were likely to derive from being the frequent ſpectators of the momentary pain that is required to take away the exiſtence of a fellow mortal. All other puniſhments, however, that do not affect the life of man, are made as public as poſſible, and branded with the greateſt degree of notoriety. The beating with the bamboo, in their ideas, ſcarcely ranks under the name of puniſhment, being more properly conſidered as a gentle correction, to which no diſgrace is attached; but the cangue or, as they term it, the *tcha*, a kind of walking pillory, is a heavy tablet of wood, to which they are faſtened by the neck and hands, and which they are ſometimes obliged to drag about for weeks and months; this is a terrible puniſhment, and well calculated to deter others from the commiſſion of thoſe crimes of which it is the conſequence, and the nature of which is always inſcribed in large characters upon it.

The order that is kept in their jails is ſaid to be excellent, and the debtor and the felon are always confined in ſeparate places; as indeed one ſhould ſuppoſe every where to be the caſe, for, as Sir George Staunton has obſerved, "To aſſociate

"guilt

" guilt with imprudence, and confound wickedneſs with miſ-
" fortune, is impolitic, immoral, and cruel *."

The abominable practice of extorting confeſſion by the application of the torture is the worſt part of the criminal laws of China; but they pretend to ſay this mode is ſeldom recurred to, unleſs in caſes where the guilt of the accuſed has been made to appear by ſtrong circumſtantial evidence. It is however a common puniſhment to ſqueeze the fingers in caſes of miſdemeanour, and is particularly practiſed as a puniſhment of thoſe females who purchaſe licences for breaking through the rules of chaſtity.

By the laws relating to property, women in China, as in ancient Rome, are excluded from inheriting, where there are children, and from diſpoſing of property; but where there are no male children a man may leave, by will, the whole of his property to the widow. The reaſon they aſſign for women not inheriting is, that a woman can make no offering to deceaſed relations in the hall of anceſtors; and it is deemed one of the firſt ideal bleſſings of life for a man to have ſome one to look up to, who will tranſmit his name to future ages, by performing, at certain fixed periods, the duties of this important ceremony. All their laws indeed reſpecting property, as I have already obſerved, are inſufficient to give it that ſecurity and ſtability which alone can conſtitute the pleaſure of accumulating wealth. The avarice of men in power may overlook thoſe who are in moderate circumſtances, but the affluent rarely

* A debtor is releaſed when it appears that the whole of his property has been given up for the uſe of his creditors

eſcape their rapacious graſp. In a word, although the laws are not ſo perfect as to procure for the ſubject general good, yet neither are they ſo defective as to reduce him to that ſtate of general miſery, which could only be terminated in a revolution. The executive adminiſtration is ſo faulty, that the man in office generally has it in his power to govern the laws, which makes the meaſure of good or evil depend greatly on his moral character.

Such are indeed the diſpoſition and the habits of the people, that ſo long as the multitude can procure their bowl of rice and a few ſavory ſauces, that coſt only a mere trifle, there will be leſs danger of a revolt; and the government is ſo well convinced of this, that one of its firſt concerns is to lay up, in the public magazines erected in every part of the empire, a proviſion of grain, to ſerve as a ſupply for the poor in times of famine or ſcarcity. In this age of revolutions, a change, however, ſeems to be taking place in the minds of the people, which I ſhall preſently notice.

The ſyſtem of univerſal and implicit obedience towards ſuperiors pervades every branch of the public ſervice. The officers of the ſeveral departments of government, from the firſt to the ninth degree, acting upon the ſame broad baſis of paternal authority, are inveſted with the power of inflicting the ſummary puniſhment of the bamboo, on all occaſions where they may judge it proper, which, under the denomination of a fatherly correction, they adminiſter without any previous trial, or form of inquiry. The ſlighteſt offence is puniſhable in this manner, at the will or the caprice of the loweſt magiſtrate.

giſtrate. Such a ſummary proceeding of the powerful againſt the weak naturally creates in the latter a dread and diſtruſt of the former; and the common people, accordingly, regard the approach of a man in office, juſt as ſchoolboys obſerve the motions of a ſevere maſter; but the fatherly kindneſs of the Emperor is recogniſed even in puniſhment; the culprit may claim the exemption of every fifth blow as the Emperor's *coup-de-grace*; but in all probability he gains little by ſuch remiſſion, as the deficiency in number may eaſily be made up in weight.

This practical method of evincing a fatherly affection is not confined to the multitude alone, but is extended to every rank and deſcription of perſons, ceaſing only at the foot of the throne. Each officer of ſtate, from the ninth degree upwards to the fourth, can, at any time, adminiſter a gentle correction to his inferior; and the Emperor orders the bamboo to his miniſters, and to the other four claſſes, whenever he may think it neceſſary for the good of their morals. It is well known that the late *Kien Long* cauſed two of his ſons to be bambooed long after they had arrived at the age of maturity, one of which, I believe, is the preſent reigning Emperor.

In travelling through the country, a day ſeldom eſcaped without our witneſſing the application of the *Pan-tsé*, or bamboo, and generally in ſuch a manner that it might be called by any other name except a *gentle* correction. A Chineſe ſuffering under this puniſhment cries out in the moſt piteous manner; a Tartar bears it in ſilence. A Chineſe, after receiving a certain number of ſtrokes, falls down on his knees, as a matter

of courſe, before him who ordered the puniſhment, thanking him, in the moſt humble manner, for the fatherly kindneſs he has teſtified towards his ſon, in thus putting him in mind of his errors; a Tartar grumbles, and diſputes the point as to the right that a Chineſe may have to flog him; or he turns away in ſullen ſilence.

Ridiculous as it may appear to a foreigner, in obſerving an officer of ſtate ſtretching himſelf along the ground for the purpoſe of being flogged by order of another who happens to rank one degree above him; yet it is impoſſible, at the ſame time, to ſuppreſs a glow of indignation, in witneſſing ſo mean and obſequious a degradation of the human mind, which can bring itſelf, under any circumſtances, patiently to ſubmit to a vile corporal puniſhment, adminiſtered by the hand of a ſlave, or by a common ſoldier; and when this is done, to undergo the ſtill more vile and humiliating act of kiſſing the rod that corrects him. But the policy of the government has taken good care to remove any ſcruples that might ariſe on this ſcore. Where paternal regard was the ſole motive, ſuch a chaſtiſement could not poſſibly be followed with diſhonour or diſgrace. It was a wonderful point gained by the government, to ſubject every individual, the Emperor only excepted, to the ſame corporal correction; but it muſt have required great addreſs, and men's minds muſt have been completely ſubdued, or completely convinced, before ſuch a ſyſtem of univerſal obedience could have been accompliſhed, the conſequence of which, it was obvious, could be no other than univerſal ſervility. It could not fail to eſtabliſh a moſt effectual check againſt the complaints of the multitude,

multitude, by ſhewing them that the ſame man, who had the power of puniſhing them, was equally liable to be corrected in his turn, and in the ſame manner, by another. The puniſhment of the bamboo muſt, I ſuſpect, be one of the moſt ancient inſtitutions of China. Indeed we can ſcarcely conceive it ever to have been introduced into a ſociety already civilized; but rather to have been coeval with the origin of that ſociety.

A ſimilar kind of perſonal chaſtiſement for light offences, or miſconduct, was inflicted in Ruſſia on perſons of all ranks, but with this difference, that the correction was private and by order of the Sovereign alone. The Czar Peter, indeed, generally beſtowed a drubbing on his courtiers with his own hand; who, inſtead of being diſhonoured or diſgraced by ſuch a caſtigation, were ſuppoſed, from that very circumſtance, to be his particular favourites, and to ſtand high in his confidence. The great Mentzikoff is ſaid to have frequently left his cloſet with a black eye or a bloody noſe; and ſeemed to derive encreaſing importance from the unequivocal marks of his maſter's friendſhip. Even at the preſent day, or till very lately, little diſgrace was attached to the puniſhment of the *knout*, which was a private flagellation by order of the court; but this abominable practice either is altogether diſcontinued, or in its laſt ſtage of exiſtence. Such arbitrary proceedings could not long remain in force among an enlightened people.

Theſe two great empires, the greateſt indeed that exiſt in the world, dividing between them nearly a fifth part of the whole habitable globe, each about a tenth, exhibit a ſingular difference

ference with regard to political circumſtances. One century ago Ruſſia was but juſt emerging from a ſtate of barbariſm, and in a century hence, in all human probability, ſhe will make a conſpicuous figure among European nations, both in arts and arms. Two thouſand years ago China was civilized to the ſame degree, or nearly ſo, that ſhe is at preſent. The governments were both arbitrary, and the people were ſlaves. The natural genius of the Ruſſian, cramped perhaps in ſome degree by his frozen climate, is leſs ſuſceptible of improvement than that of the Chineſe. Whence then, it may be aſked, proceeds the very great difference in the progreſſive improvement of the two nations? principally, I ſhould ſuppoſe, from the two following reaſons. Ruſſia invites and encourages foreigners to inſtruct her ſubjects in arts, ſciences, and manufactures. China, from a ſpirit of pride and ſelf-importance, as well as from jealouſy, rejects and expels them. The language of Ruſſia is eaſily acquired, and her ſubjects as eaſily learn thoſe of other countries, whilſt that of China is ſo difficult, or their method of learning it ſo defective, as to require the ſtudy of half the life of man to fit him for any of the ordinary employments of the ſtate, and they have no knowledge of any language but their own. The one is in a ſtate of youthful vigour, advancing daily in ſtrength and knowledge; the other is worn out with old age and diſeaſe, and under its preſent ſtate of exiſtence is not likely to advance in any kind of improvement.

To the principle of univerſal obedience the Chineſe government has added another, which is well calculated to ſatisfy the

the public mind: the firſt honours and the higheſt offices are open to the very loweſt of the people. It admits of no hereditary nobility; at leaſt none with excluſive privileges. As a mark of the Sovereign's favour a diſtinction will ſometimes deſcend in a family, but, as it confers no power nor privilege nor emolument, it ſoon wears out. All dignities may be conſidered as merely perſonal; the princes of the blood, even, ſink gradually into the common maſs, unleſs their talents and their application be ſufficient to qualify them for office, independent of which there can be neither rank nor honours, and very little if any diſtinction, not even in the imperial family, beyond the third generation. On public days the Emperor, at a ſingle glance, can diſtinguiſh the rank of each of the many thouſand courtiers that are aſſembled on ſuch occaſions by their dreſs of ceremony. The civilians have a bird, and the military a tyger, embroidered on the breaſt and back of their upper robe; and their ſeveral ranks are pointed out by different coloured globes, mounted on a pivot on the top of the cap or bonnet. The Emperor has alſo two orders of diſtinction, which are conferred by him alone, as marks of particular favour; the order of the yellow veſt and of the peacock's feather.

The influence that, in nations of Europe, is derived from birth, fortune, and character, is of no weight in the Chineſe government. The moſt learned, and I have already explained how far the term extends, provided he be not of notorious bad character, is ſure to be employed; though under the preſent Tartar government, the Chineſe complain that they never arrive at the higheſt rank till they are advanced in years. Learning

alone, by the ſtrict maxims of ſtate, leads to office, and office to diſtinction. Property, without learning, has little weight, and confers no diſtinction, except in ſome corrupt provincial governments, where the external marks of office are ſold, as in Canton. Hence property is not ſo much an object of the laws in China as elſewhere, and conſequently has not the ſame ſecurity. In the governments of Europe, property ſeldom fails to command influence and to force dependence: in China, the man of property is afraid to own it, and all the enjoyments it procures him are ſtolen.

Sometimes, indeed, the higheſt appointments in the ſtate are conferred, as it happens elſewhere, by ſome favourable accident, or by the caprice of the monarch. A ſtriking inſtance of this kind was diſplayed in the perſon of *Ho-tchung-tang*, the laſt prime miniſter of the late *Kien-long*. This man, a Tartar, happened to be placed on guard in the palace, where his youth and comely countenance ſtruck the Emperor ſo forcibly in paſſing, that he ſent for him to the preſence; and finding him equally agreeable in his converſation and manners, he raiſed him rapidly, but gradually, from the ſituation of a common ſoldier, to the higheſt ſtation in the empire. Such ſudden changes, from a ſtate of nothingneſs to the ſummit of power, have frequently been obſerved to be attended with conſequences no leſs fatal to the man ſo elevated, than pernicious to the public: and thus it happened to this favourite miniſter. During the life of his old maſter, over whom, in his later years, he is ſaid to have poſſeſſed an unbounded influence, he availed himſelf of the means that offered, by every ſpecies of fraud and extortion,

tortion, by tyranny and oppreſſion, to amaſs ſuch immenſe wealth in gold, ſilver, pearls, and immoveable property, that his acquiſitions were generally allowed to have exceeded thoſe of any ſingle individual, that the hiſtory of the country had made known. His pride and haughty demeanor had rendered him ſo obnoxious to the royal family that, at the time we were in Pekin, it was generally ſuppoſed, he had made up his mind to die with the old Emperor, for which event he had always at hand a doſe of poiſon, not chuſing to ſtand the ſevere inveſtigation which he was well aware the ſucceeding prince would direct to be made into his miniſterial conduct. It ſeems, however, when that event actually happened, the love of life, and the hope of eſcaping, prevailed on him to change his purpoſe and to ſtand the hazard of a trial. Of the crimes and enormities laid to his charge he was found, or rather he was ſaid to have pleaded, guilty. The vaſt wealth he had extorted from others was confiſcated to the crown, and he was condemned to ſuffer an ignominious death *.

But

* The circumſtances attending the downfal of this miniſter are curious, and ſhew, in its true light, the deſpotic nature of the Chineſe government, notwithſtanding their ſalutary laws. The new Emperor, determined on his ruin, makes a public declaration wherein, after apologizing for not abſtaining agreeably to the laws of the empire from all acts of innovation, for the ſpace of three years after his father's death, he obſerves, that the crimes and exceſſes of *Ho-tchung-tang* are of ſo horrid a nature, as to preclude him from acting towards him with any pity or indulgence. He then exhibits about twenty articles of accuſation againſt him, the principal of which are,

Contumacy towards his father (the late Emperor) by riding on horſeback to the very door of the hall of audience at *Yuen-min-yuen*.

Audacity, under pretence of lameneſs, in cauſing himſelf to be carried to and from the palace through the door ſet apart for the Emperor.

But *Ho-tchung-tang*, if guilty of inordinate ambition, or acts of injuſtice, is far from being the only inſtance of ſuch conduct in men thus raiſed from humble ſituations. The officers of

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Scandalous behaviour, in taking away the virgins of the palace, and appropriating them to his own uſe.

Pride and inſolence, in countermanding his (the new Emperor's) order, for all the princes of Tartary to be ſummoned to Pekin, thoſe who had not had the ſmall-pox excepted, to aſſiſt at the funeral of his father, and by iſſuing a new one, in which *none* were excepted.

Bribery and partiality, in ſelling and giving away appointments of weight to perſons totally unqualified to fill them.

Arrogance, in making uſe of the wood *Nan-moo* (cedar) in his houſe, which is deſtined excluſively for royal palaces; and in building a houſe and gardens in the ſtyle and manner of thoſe belonging to the Emperor.

For having in his poſſeſſion more than two hundred ſtrings of pearls, and an immenſe quantity of jewels and precious ſtones, which his rank did not allow him to wear, and among which was a pearl of ſuch wonderful magnitude, that the Emperor himſelf had no equal to it.

For having in gold and ſilver alone, which has been already diſcovered and confiſcated, the amount, at leaſt, of ten million taels (about 3,300,000*l.* ſterling).

One article is ſingularly curious. For having been guilty of the deepeſt treachery in informing him (the new Emperor) of his father's intention to abdicate the government in his (the new Emperor's) favour, *one day* before his father made it public, thinking by ſuch means to gain his favour and affection!

After enumerating the ſeveral articles of accuſation, the Emperor ſtates, that this miniſter being interrogated by a Tartar prince on the ſeveral points, had confeſſed the whole to be true, and, therefore, without further evidence, he commands the preſidents and members of the ſeveral courts in Pekin, the viceroys of provinces, and governors of cities, on theſe articles of accuſation being laid before them, to paſs a proper ſentence on the ſaid *Ho-tchung-tang*. According to the majority, he was condemned to be beheaded; but as a peculiar act of grace and benevolence on the part of the Emperor, this ſentence was mitigated to that of his being allowed to be his own executioner. A ſilken cord being ſent as an intimation of this mark of the Emperor's favour, he cauſed himſelf to be ſtrangled by ſome of his attendants.

Who

of government in general, though intended by the conſtitution as a kind of barrier between the prince and the people, are the greateſt oppreſſors of the latter, who have ſeldom any means of redreſs, or of conveying their complaints to the Imperial ear. There is no middle claſs of men in China: men whoſe property and ideas of independence give them weight in the part of the country where they reſide; and whoſe influence and intereſt are conſidered as not below the notice of the government. In fact, there are no other than the governors and the governed. If a man, by trade, or induſtry in his profeſſion, has accumulated riches, he can enjoy them only in private. He dares not, by having a grander houſe, or finer clothes, to let his neighbour perceive that he is richer than himſelf, leſt he ſhould betray him to the commanding officer of the diſtrict, who would find no difficulty in bringing him within the pale of the ſumptuary laws, and in laying his property under confiſcation.

Sometimes, indeed, the extortions that the officers practiſe upon the people, as in the caſe of *Ho-tchung-tang*, meet the hand of juſtice. Other magiſtrates keep a ſteady eye upon their proceedings, and, in proper time, tranſmit the neceſſary information to court. Spies alſo are detached from court into the

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Who could eſcape when the Emperor of China is himſelf the accuſer? It will readily occur, from the fate of *Ho-tchung-tang*, that there is not that line of independence drawn between the executive and juridical authority, which the ingenious author of the Spirit of Laws has clearly proved to be the grand foundation of a juſt, legal, and efficient ſecurity of the life and property of the ſubject. In fact, in all ſtate crimes, the Emperor becomes both the accuſer and the judge. In the caſe of *Ho-tchung-tang* he may likewiſe be ſaid to have been the only evidence.

provinces, under the name of inſpectors. Jealous of each other, they let no opportunity ſlip of making unfavourable reports to their ſuperiors. Notwithſtanding which, with all the precautions taken by government in favour of the ſubject, the latter finds himſelf moſt dreadfully oppreſſed. It is true, for very ſlight offences preferred againſt men in office, the court directs a public reprimand in the official Gazette; for thoſe of a more ſerious nature, degradation from rank; and every officer ſo degraded is under the neceſſity of proclaiming his own diſgrace in all his public orders; not only to put him in mind of his paſt conduct, but likewiſe to ſhew the people how watchful the eye of government is over the actions of its ſervants. The laſt ſtage of public degradation, which amounts to a ſentence of infamy, is an order to ſuperintend the preparation of the Emperor's tomb, which implies that the perſon ſo ſentenced is more fit to be employed among the dead than the living. *Tchang-ta-gin*, the late viceroy of Canton, was condemned to this degrading ſervice *.

The viceroy of a province can remain in that office no longer than three years, leſt he might obtain an undue influence. No ſervant of the crown can form a family alliance in the place where he commands, nor obtain an office of importance in the city or town wherein he was born. Yet with theſe, and other precautions, there is ſtill little ſecurity for the ſubject. He has no voice whatſoever in the government, either directly or by

* Among the various cuſtoms of China, particularized in the accounts of the two Mahomedan travellers in the ninth century, this remarkable one is noticed, affording, with the reſt, equally ſingular and peculiar to this nation, an irrefragable proof of the authenticity of theſe two relations.

repre-

repreſentation; and the only ſatisfaction he poſſibly can receive for injuries done to him, and that is merely of a negative kind, is the degradation or the removal of the man in power, who had been his oppreſſor, and who perhaps may be replaced by another equally bad.

The ingenious Mr. Pauw has obſerved, that China is entirely governed by the whip and the bamboo. To theſe he might have added the yearly calendar and the Pekin Gazette, both of which, as engines in the hands of government, contribute very materially to aſſiſt its operations. By the circulation of the firſt is kept alive the obſervance of certain ſuperſtitions which it is, apparently, the ſtudy of government to encourage. The ſecond is a vehicle for conveying into every corner of the empire the virtues and the fatherly kindneſs of the reigning ſovereign, ſhewn by puniſhing the officers of his government, not only for what they have done amiſs, but for what they may have omitted to do. Thus, if a famine has deſolated any of the provinces, the principal officers are degraded for not having taken the proper precautions againſt it. This paper, in the ſhape of a ſmall pamphlet, is publiſhed every ſecond day. The miſſionaries have pretended that immediate death would be the conſequence of inſerting a falſehood in the Imperial Gazette. Yet it is famous for deſcribing battles that were never fought, and for announcing victories that were never gained. The truth of this obſervation appears from ſeveral proclamations of *Kaung-ſhee*, *Tchien Long*, and the preſent Emperor, warning the generals on diſtant ſtations from making falſe reports,

parts, and from killing thouſands and ten thouſands of the enemy, ſometimes even when no engagement had taken place *. The reverend gentlemen only mean to ſay, that the editor would be puniſhed if he ventured to inſert any thing not ſent to him officially by the government.

The preſs in China is as free as in England, and the profeſſion of printing open to every one, which is a ſingular circumſtance, and perhaps the only inſtance of the kind, in a deſpotic government. It has uſually been ſuppoſed that, in free countries only where every perſon is equally under the protection, and equally liable to the penalties, of the law, the liberty of the preſs could be cheriſhed; and that it was a thing next to impoſſible, that power, founded on error and ſupported by oppreſſion, could long be maintained where the preſs was free. It was the preſs that in Europe effected the ruin of prieſtly power, by diſpelling the clouds that had long obſcured the rays of truth; and by opening a free acceſs to the doctrines of that religion which, of all others, is beſt calculated for the promotion of individual happineſs and public virtue †.

In

* The words of *Kaung-ſhee*'s proclamation, repeated by *Kia-king*, are: "At preſent when an army is ſent on any military ſervice, every report that is made of its operations, contains an account of a victory, of rebels diſperſed at the firſt encounter, driven from their ſtations, killed, and wounded, to a great amount, or to the amount of ſome thouſands, or, in ſhort, that the rebels ſlain were innumerable." *Pekin Gazette*, 31*ſt July*, 1800.

† When the art of printing was firſt introduced into England, and carried on in Weſtminſter Abbey, a ſhrewd churchman is ſaid to have obſerved to the Abbot of Weſtminſter, "If you don't take care to deſtroy that machine, it will very ſoon deſtroy your trade." He ſaw at a ſingle glance of the preſs, the downfal of prieſtly dominion

In China the liberty of the preſs ſeems to excite no apprehenſions in the government. The ſummary mode of puniſhing any breach of good morals, without the formality of a trial, makes a poſitive prohibition againſt printing unneceſſary, being itſelf ſufficient to reſtrain the licentiouſneſs of the preſs. The printer, the vender, and the reader of any libellous publication, are all equally liable to be flogged with the bamboo. Few, I ſuppoſe, would be hardy enough to print reflexions on the conduct of government, or its principal officers, as ſuch publications would be attended with certain ruin. Yet, notwithſtanding all the dangers to which the printing profeſſion is liable, daily papers are publiſhed in the capital, circulating, ſomething like our own, private anecdotes, domeſtic occurrences, public notices of ſales, and the wonderful virtues of quack medicines. We were told that, in one of theſe papers, the Portugueſe miſſionary mentioned in Mr. Grammont's letter got a paragraph inſerted, purporting the great neglect of the Engliſh in having brought no preſents for the princes of the blood, nor for the Emperor's miniſters. This falſe and malicious paragraph was ſaid to be followed by another, inſinuating that thoſe for the Emperor were common articles of little value. Another pretended to give a catalogue of them, and included an elephant about the ſize of a rat, giants, dwarfs, wiſhing pillows, and ſuch like nonſenſe. Theſe, however, and other publications,

dominion in the general diffuſion of knowledge that would be occaſioned by it, and had the reſt of the clergy been equally clear-ſighted, it is probable the dark ages of ſuperſtition and ignorance had ſtill continued, or at leaſt had been greatly protracted.

were induſtriouſly kept from our ſight. Under the generous idea of being the Emperor's gueſts, we were not allowed to purchaſe any thing. He alone was to ſupply our wants, but his officers took the liberty of judging what theſe wants ſhould conſiſt in.

It is a ſingular phenomenon in the hiſtory of nations, how the government of an empire, of ſuch vaſt magnitude as that of China, ſhould have preſerved its ſtability without any material change, for more than two thouſand years; for, dropping their pretenſions to an extravagant antiquity, for which however they have ſome grounds, there can be no doubt they were pretty much in the ſame ſtate, regulated by the ſame laws, and under the ſame form of government as they now are, four hundred years before the birth of Chriſt, about which time their renowned philoſopher flouriſhed, whoſe works are ſtill held on the higheſt reputation. They contain indeed all the maxims in which their government is ſtill grounded, and all the rules by which the different ſtations of life take their moral conduct; and the monarchy is ſuppoſed to have been eſtabliſhed two thouſand years before his time.

If the teſt of a good government be made to depend on the length of its continuance, unſhaken and unchanged by revolutions, China may certainly be allowed to rank the firſt among civilized nations. But, whether good or bad, it has poſſeſſed the art of moulding the multitude to its own ſhape in a manner unprecedented in the annals of the world. Various accidents, improved by policy, ſeem to have led to its durability. Among theſe

theſe the natural barriers of the country, excluding any foreign enemy, are not to be reckoned as the leaſt favourable; whilſt the extreme caution of the government in admitting ſtrangers kept the world in ignorance, for many ages, of the exiſtence even of the moſt extenſive, powerful, and populous empire among men. Secluded thus from all intercourſe with the reſt of the world, it had time and leizure to mould its own ſubjects into the ſhape it wiſhed them to retain; and the event has ſufficiently proved its knowledge in this reſpect.

A number of fortunate circumſtances, ſeldom combined in the ſame country, have contributed to the preſervation of internal tranquillity in China. The language is of a nature well calculated to keep the maſs of the people in a ſtate of ignorance. They are neither prohibited from embracing any religion of which they may make a choice, nor coerced to contribute towards the ſupport of one they do not approve. The pains that have been taken to inculcate ſober habits, to deſtroy mutual confidence, and render every man reſerved and ſuſpicious of his neighbour, could not fail to put an end to ſocial intercourſe. No meetings were held, even for convivial purpoſes, beyond the family circle, and theſe only at the feſtival of new year. Thoſe kind of turbulent aſſemblies, where real or imagined grievances are diſcuſſed with all the rancour and violence that malicious inſinuations againſt government, added to the effects of intoxicating draughts, too frequently inſpire, never happen among the Chineſe. Contented in having no voice in the government, it has never occurred to them that they have any

rights *: and they certainly enjoy none but what are liable to be invaded and trampled on, whenever the ſovereign, or any of his repreſentatives, from intereſt, malice, or caprice, think fit to exerciſe the power that is within their graſp. The doctrine of employing reſiſtence againſt oppreſſion, applied to the people and the government, is ſo contrary to every ſentiment of the former, that the latter has little to fear on that ſcore.

Partial inſurrections occaſionally happen, but they are generally owing to the extreme poverty of the people which, in ſeaſons of ſcarcity and famine, compels them to take by violence the means of ſubſiſting life, which otherwiſe they could not obtain. To this cauſe may be referred the origin of almoſt all the commotions recorded in their hiſtory, through ſome of which, when the calamity became general, the regular ſucceſſion has been interrupted, and even changed. We were told, however, by our Chineſe attendants, that certain myſterious ſocieties did exiſt in ſome of the provinces, whoſe chief object was to overturn the Tartar government; that they held ſecret

* When the miſchievous doctrines of *Tom Paine*, expounded in his "Rights of "Man," were tranſlated into various languages, and induſtriouſly attempted to be propagated among the eaſtern nations, by means of French emiſſaries; when one of thoſe aſſiduous diſturbers of the peace of mankind had actually ſucceeded in furniſhing the Seiks with an abſtract of this precious work in their own language, he next turned his attention to the vaſt empire of China, a glorious theatre for thoſe zealous coſmopolites to play their parts in, if they could once contrive to ſuit their drama to the taſte of the people. The experiment, however, failed of ſucceſs. The golden opinions of *Tom Paine* could not be transfuſed into the Chineſe language; and theſe unfortunate people underſtood no other but their own; ſo that three hundred and thirty-three millions were doomed to remain in ignorance and miſery on account of their language being incapable of conveying the enlightened doctrines of *Tom Paine*.

meetings, in which they gave vent to their complaints againſt Tartar preponderancy, revived the memory of ancient glory, brooded over preſent injuries, and meditated revenge. If even this be the caſe, the preſent ſtate of ſociety is little favourable to their views. Nor indeed would a revolution be a deſirable event for the Chineſe themſelves. It could not fail of being attended with the moſt horrible conſequences. The Tartar ſoldiers would be tired with flaying, and millions that eſcaped the ſword muſt neceſſarily periſh by famine, on the leaſt interruption of the uſual purſuits of agriculture; for they have no other country to look to for ſupplies, and they raiſe no ſurplus quantity in their own.

In order to prevent as much as poſſible a ſcarcity of grain, and in conformity to their opinion, that the true ſource of national wealth and proſperity conſiſts in agriculture, the Chineſe government has in all ages beſtowed the firſt honours on every improvement in this branch of induſtry. The huſbandman is conſidered as an honourable, as well as uſeful, member of ſociety; he ranks next to men of letters, or officers of ſtate, of whom indeed he is frequently the progenitor. The ſoldier in China cultivates the ground. The prieſts alſo are agriculturiſts, whenever their convents are endowed with land. The Emperor is conſidered as the ſole proprietary of the ſoil, but the tenant is never turned out of poſſeſſion as long as he continues to pay his rent, which is calculated at about one-tenth of what his farm is ſuppoſed capable of yielding; and though the holder of lands can only be conſidered as a tenant at will, yet it is his own fault if he ſhould be diſpoſſeſſed. So accuſtomed are the Chineſe

to

to conſider an eſtate as their own, while they continue to pay the rent, that a Portugueſe in Macao had nearly loſt his life for endeavouring to raiſe the rent upon his Chineſe tenants. If any one happens to hold more than his family can conveniently cultivate, he lets it out to another on condition of receiving half the produce, out of which he pays the whole of the Emperor's taxes. A great part of the poorer peaſantry cultivate lands on theſe terms.

There are, in fact, no immenſe eſtates graſping nearly the whole of a diſtrict; no monopolizing farmers, nor dealers in grain. Every one can bring his produce to a free and open market. No fiſheries are let out to farm. Every ſubject is equally entitled to the free and uninterrupted enjoyment of the ſea, of the coaſts, and the eſtuaries; of the lakes and rivers. There are no manor lords with excluſive privileges; no lands ſet apart for feeding beaſts or birds for the profit or pleaſure of particular perſons; every one may kill game on his own grounds, and on the public commons. Yet with all theſe ſeeming advantages, there are rarely three ſucceſſive years without a famine in one province or another.

As in the Roman Empire examples were not wanting of the firſt characters in the ſtate glorying to put their hands to the plough, to render the earth fertile, and to engage in the natural employment of man; as,

> In ancient times the ſacred plough employ'd,
> The kings and awful fathers,

So,

So, in China, the Emperor at the vernal equinox, after a ſolemn offering to the God of Heaven and Earth, goes through the ceremony of holding the plough, an example in which he is followed by the viceroys and governors and great officers in every part of the empire. This ceremony, though, in all probability, the remains of a religious inſtitution, is well calculated to give encouragement to the labouring peaſantry, whoſe profeſſion, thus honourably patronized, cannot fail to be purſued with more energy and cheerfulneſs than where it receives no ſuch marks of diſtinction. Here merchants, tradeſmen, and mechanics, are conſidered far beneath the huſbandman. So far from obtaining the honours attendant on commerce in the ancient city of Tyre, "whoſe merchants were princes, whoſe "traffickers were the honourable of the earth"— or the ancient immunities granted in Alfred's reign, by which an Engliſh merchant, who had made three foreign voyages by ſea, was raiſed to the rank of nobility, the man who, in China, engages in foreign trade is conſidered as little better than a vagabond. The home trade only is ſuppoſed to be neceſſary, and deſerving the protection of government. It allows all goods and manufactures, the produce of the country, to be interchanged between the ſeveral provinces, on payment only of a ſmall tranſit duty to the ſtate, and certain tolls on the canals and rivers, applied chiefly to the repairs of flood-gates, bridges, and embankments. This trade, being carried on entirely by barter, employs ſuch a multitude of craft of one deſcription or other, as to baffle all attempts at a calculation. I firmly believe, that all the floating veſſels in the world beſides, taken collectively, would not be equal either in number or tonnage to thoſe of China.

Foreign

Foreign trade is barely tolerated. So very indifferent the court of Pekin affects to be on this ſubject, that it has been hinted, on ſome occaſions, and indeed ſerious apprehenſions have been entertained in Europe, that they were half diſpoſed to ſhut the port of Canton againſt foreigners. The treatment, indeed, which ſtrangers meet with at this place, from the inferior officers of government, is of itſelf ſufficient to exclude them, and ſuch as could only be tolerated in conſideration of the importance of the trade, and eſpecially in the ſupply of tea; an article which, from being about a century ago a luxury, is now become, particularly in Great Britain, one of the firſt neceſſities of life.

The taxes raiſed for the ſupport of government are far from being exorbitant or burthenſome to the ſubject. They conſiſt in the tenth of the produce of the land paid uſually in kind, in a duty on ſalt, on foreign imports, and a few ſmaller taxes, that do not materially affect the bulk of the people. The total amount of taxes and aſſeſſments which each individual pays to the ſtate, taken on an average, does not exceed four ſhillings a year.

With ſuch advantages, unknown in moſt other countries, and ſuch great encouragement given to agriculture, one would be led to ſuppoſe that the condition of the poor muſt be leſs expoſed to hardſhips here than elſewhere. Yet in years of ſcarcity many thouſands periſh from abſolute want of food. And ſuch years ſo frequently occur in one province or another, either from unfavourable ſeaſons of drought or inundations, the ill effects of both of which might probably be counteracted by proper management,

management, or by an honeſt application of the ſums of money voted for the purpoſe out of the public revenue, that government has ſeldom been able to lay up in ſtore a ſufficient quantity of grain to meet the neceſſities of the people in ſeaſons of general calamity; and they have no other relief to depend on but this precarious ſupply, ſeldom adminiſtered with alacrity, on account of the number of hands it has to paſs through. This leads them to commit outrages againſt their wealthier neighbours. There are few public charities; and it is not a common cuſtom to aſk alms. I did not obſerve a ſingle beggar from one extremity of China to the other, except in the ſtreets of Canton. Nor are there any poor-laws griping the induſtrious huſbandman and labourer, to feed the lazy, and to feaſt thoſe who have the care of them; no paupers of any deſcription, ſupported from funds that have been levied on the public. The children, if living and, if not, the next of kin, muſt take care of their aged relations; and the parents diſpoſe of their children in what manner they may think beſt for the family intereſt. As ſeveral generations live together, they are ſubſiſted at a much cheaper rate than if each had a ſeparate houſehold. In caſes of real diſtreſs the government is ſuppoſed to act the parent; and its good intentions in this reſpect cannot be called in queſtion; whenever it appears that any of its officers, through neglect or malice, have withheld grain from the poor, they are puniſhed with ſingular ſeverity, ſometimes even with death.

Another great advantage enjoyed by the Chineſe ſubject is, that the amount of his taxes is aſcertained. He is never re-

quired to contribute, by any new aſſeſſment, to make up a given ſum for the extraordinary expences of the ſtate, except in caſes of rebellion, when an additional tax is ſometimes impoſed on the neighbouring provinces. But in general the executive government muſt adapt its wants to the ordinary ſupplies, inſtead of calling on the people for extraordinary contributions. The amount of the revenues of this great empire has been differently ſtated. As the principal branch, the land-tax, is paid in kind, it is indeed ſcarcely poſſible to eſtimate the receipt of it accurately, as it will greatly depend on the ſtate of the crop. An Emperor who aims at popularity never fails to remit this tax or rent, in ſuch diſtricts as have ſuffered by drought or inundation. *Chou-ta-gin* gave to Lord Macartney, from the Imperial rent-roll, a rough ſketch of the ſums raiſed in each province, making them to amount in the whole to about ſixty-ſix millions ſterling; which is not more than twice the revenue of the ſtate in Great Britain, excluſive of the poor's-rate and other parochial taxes, in 1803, and which gives, as I before obſerved, if reduced to a capitation, the ſum of about four ſhillings for each individual, whilſt that of Great Britain, by an analogous computation, would amount to about fifteen times that ſum. I ſhould ſuppoſe, however, that a ſhilling in China, generally ſpeaking, will go as far as three in Great Britain.

From the produce of the taxes the civil and military eſtabliſhments, and all the incidental and extraordinary expences, are firſt paid on the ſpot where they are incurred, out of the provincial magazines, and the remainder is remitted to the Imperial treaſury in Pekin to meet the expences of the court, the eſtabliſhment

eſtabliſhment of the Emperor, his palaces, temples, gardens, women, and princes of the blood. The confiſcations, preſents, tributes, and other articles, may be reckoned as his privy purſe. The ſurplus revenue remitted to Pekin, in the year 1792, was ſtated to be about 36,000,000 ounces of ſilver, or 12,000,000l. ſterling. It is a general opinion among the Chineſe part of his ſubjects, that vaſt ſums of the ſurplus revenue and ſuch as ariſe from confiſcations are annually ſent to Moukden, the capital of Man-tchoo Tartary; but this ſhould appear to be an erroneous opinion founded on prejudice. Notwithſtanding the enormous wealth of *Ho-tchung-tang*, that filled the Imperial coffers, the preſent Emperor found it neceſſary the ſame year to accept an offering, as it was called, of 500,000 ounces of ſilver, or 166,666l. ſterling, from the ſalt merchants of Canton, and ſums of money and articles of merchandize from other quarters, to enable him to quell a rebellion that was raging in one of the weſtern provinces. He even ſent down to Canton a quantity of pearls, agates, ſerpentines, and other ſtones of little value, in the hope of raiſing a temporary ſupply from the ſale of them to foreign merchants. The Emperor of China, therefore, has not ſo much wealth at his diſpoſal as has uſually been imagined. He even accepts of patriotic gifts from individuals, conſiſting of pieces of porcelain, ſilks, fans, tea, and ſuch-like trifling articles, which afterwards ſerve as preſents to foreign embaſſadors, and each gift is pompouſly proclaimed in the Pekin gazette.

The chief officers in the civil departments of government, independent of the miniſters and the different boards in Pekin,

according to the ſtatement of *Tchou-ta-gin*, with their ſalaries and allowances reduced into ſilver, will be ſeen from the following table, which, with that of the military eſtabliſhment, is publiſhed in the appendix to the authentic account of the embaſſy by Sir George Staunton; and as they differ very little from the court calendar publiſhed in 1801, and as I have occaſion to make a few remarks on them, as well as on that of the population, which will be given in a ſubſequent chapter, I have not heſitated to introduce them into the preſent work.

Quality.	Number.	Salaries in ounces of ſilver.	Total.
Viceroys over one or more provinces - -	11	20,000	220,000
Governors of provinces - - -	15	16,000	240,000
Collectors of revenue - - -	19	9,000	171,000
Preſidents of criminal tribunals - - -	18	6,000	108,000
Governors of more than one city of the firſt order -	86	3,000	258,000
Governors of one city only of the firſt order - -	184	2,000	368,000
Governors of a city of the ſecond order - -	149	1,000	149,000
Governors of a city of the third order - -	1305	800	1,044,000
Preſidents of literature and examinations - -	17	3,000	402,000
Inſpectors general - - - -	117		
	Total oz.		2,960,000

The inferior officers acting immediately under the orders of theſe, and amounting to many thouſands, together with the ſalaries and expences of the different boards in the capital, all of which are paid out of the public treaſury, muſt require a ſum at leaſt equal to the above; ſo that on a moderate calculation, the ordinary expences of the civil eſtabliſhment will amount to the ſum of 5,920,000 ounces, or 1,973,333l. ſterling.

Some

Some idea may be formed of the numerous appointments, and the frequent changes in adminiſtration, from the circumſtance of the Court Calendar, or red book, being publiſhed every three months making four tolerable large volumes, or ſixteen volumes every year.

The fatherly attention, the wiſe precautions, and the extreme jealouſy of the government, have not been conſidered as alone ſufficient for the internal and external protection of the empire, without the aſſiſtance of an immenſe ſtanding army. This army, in the midſt of a profound peace, was ſtated by *Van-ta-gin* to conſiſt of eighteen hundred thouſand men, one million of which were ſaid to be infantry, and eight hundred thouſand cavalry. As this government, however, is ſuppoſed to be much given to exaggeration in all matters relating to the aggrandiſement of the country, and to deal liberally in hyperboles, wherever numbers are concerned, the authenticity of the above ſtatement of their military force may perhaps be called in queſtion. The ſum of money, that would be required to keep in pay and furniſh the extraordinaries of ſo immenſe an army, is ſo immoderate that the revenues would appear to be unable to bear it. If the pay and the appointments of each ſoldier, infantry and cavalry one with another, be ſuppoſed to amount to a ſhilling a day, the ſum required for the pay alone would amount to 33,000,000l. ſterling a year!

To come nearer the truth, let us take the calculation drawn up by Lord Macartney from the information of *Van-ta-gin*.

Rank.	Number.	Salaries oz.	Total.
Tau-ton,	18	4000	72,000
Tſung-ping	62	2400	148,800
Foo-tſung	121	1300	157,300
Tchoo-tſung	165	800	132,000
Tchoo-tzé	373	600	223,800
Too-tzé	425	400	170,000
Sciou-foo	825	320	264,000
Tſien-tſung	1680	160	268,800
Pa-tſung	3622	130	470,870
Commiſſaries of proviſions of firſt rank	44	320	14,080
Commiſſaries of proviſions of ſecond rank	330	160	52,800
		Total	1,974,450
1,000,000 infantry, at two ounces of ſilver each *per* month, proviſions included		24,000,000	
800,000 cavalry, at four ounces each, proviſions and forage included		38,400,000	
800,000 horſes, coſt at twenty ounces each, 16,000,000 oz. the annual wear and tear at 10 *per cent.* will be		1,600,000	
Uniforms for 1,800,000 men once a year, at four ounces		7,200,000	
Yearly wear and tear of arms, accoutrements, and contingencies, at one ounce *per* man		1,800,000	
			73,000,000
		Total ounces	74,974,450

And as no allowance is made in the above eſtimate for the expence of artillery, tents, war equipage, nor for veſſels of force on the different rivers and canals, the building and keeping in repair the military poſts, the flags, ceremonial dreſſes, boats, waggons, muſical bands, all of which are included in the extraordinaries of the army, theſe may probably be equal to the ordinaries; thus the whole military eſtabliſhment would require the ſum of 149,948,900 ounces, or 49,982,933l. ſterling.

The

The diſpoſal of the revenues will then ſtand as follows:

Total amount of the revenue	-		£. 66,000,000
Civil eſtabliſhment	-	£. 1,973,333	
Military ditto	-	49,982,933	
			51,956,266

Surplus, being for the Emperor's eſtabliſhment £. 14,043,734 which accords pretty nearly with the ſum ſaid to be remitted to Pekin in the year 1792.

It will appear then that if the revenues be admitted as accurate, and I ſee no juſt reaſon for ſuppoſing the contrary, they are more than ſufficient to meet the expences of ſo apparently an enormous eſtabliſhment. If, however, the King of Pruſſia, the Monarch of a ſmall indiſtinguiſhable ſpeck on the globe, when put in compariſon with the empire of China, can keep up an army of one hundred and eighty or two hundred thouſand men, I can perceive nothing either extravagant or extraordinary in ſuppoſing that a Sovereign whoſe dominions are eight times the extent of thoſe of France, before her late uſurpations, ſhould have ten times as great a force as that of the King of Pruſſia. It may perhaps be aſked in what manner are they employed, ſeeing the nation is ſo little engaged in foreign war? The employments for which the military are uſed differ materially from thoſe among European nations. Except a great part of the Tartar cavalry, who are ſtationed on the northern frontier and in the conquered provinces of Tartary, and the Tartar infantry, who are diſtributed as guards for the different cities of the empire, the reſt of the army is parcelled

parcelled out in the ſmaller towns, villages, and hamlets; where they act as jailors, conſtables, thief-takers, aſſiſtants to magiſtrates, ſubordinate collectors of the taxes, guards to the granaries; and are employed in a variety of different ways under the civil magiſtracy and police. Beſides theſe, an immenſe multitude are ſtationed as guards at the military poſts along the public roads, canals, and rivers. Theſe poſts are ſmall ſquare buildings, like ſo many little caſtles, each having on its ſummit a watch-tower and a flag; and they are placed at the diſtance of three or four miles aſunder. At one of theſe poſts there are never fewer than ſix men. They not only prevent robberies and diſputes on the roads and canals, but convey the public diſpatches to and from the capital. An expreſs ſent from poſt to poſt travels between the capital and Canton in twelve days, which is upwards of one hundred miles a day. There is no other poſt nor mode of conveying letters for the convenience of the public.

A great part then of the Chineſe army can only be conſidered as a kind of militia, which never has been, and in all human probability never will be, embodied; as a part of the community not living entirely on the labour of the reſt, but contributing ſomething to the common ſtock. Every ſoldier ſtationed on the different guards has his portion of land aſſigned to him, which he cultivates for his family, and pays his quota of the produce to the ſtate. Such a proviſion, encouraged by public opinion, induces the ſoldier to marry, and the married men are never removed from their ſtations.

It

It will not be expected that men thus circumſtanced ſhould exhibit a very military appearance under arms. In ſome places, where they were drawn out in compliment to the Embaſſador, when the weather happened to be a little warm, they were employed in the exerciſe of their fans, inſtead of their matchlocks; others we found drawn up in a ſingle line, and reſting very compoſedly on their knees to receive the Embaſſador, in which poſture they remained till their commanding officer paſſed the word to riſe. Whenever we happened to take them by ſurprize, there was the greateſt ſcramble to get their holyday dreſſes out of the guard-houſe, which, when put on, had more the appearance of being intended for the ſtage than the field of battle. Their quilted petticoats, ſattin boots, and their fans, had a mixture of clumſineſs and effeminacy that ill accorded with the military character.

The different kinds of troops that compoſe the Chineſe army conſiſt of

Tartar cavalry, whoſe only weapon is the ſabre; and a few who carry bows.

Tartar infantry, bowmen; having alſo large ſabres.

Chineſe infantry, carrying the ſame weapons.

Chineſe matchlocks.

Chineſe Tygers of war, bearing large round ſhields of baſket-work, and long ill-made ſwords. On the ſhields of the laſt are painted monſtrous faces of ſome imaginary animal, intended to frighten the enemy, or, like another gorgon, to petrify their beholders.

The military dreſs varies in almoſt every province. Sometimes they wore blue jackets edged with red, or brown with yellow; ſome had long pantaloons; ſome breeches, with ſtockings of cotton cloth; others petticoats and boots. The bowmen had long looſe gowns of blue cotton, ſtuffed with a kind of felt or wadding, ſtudded all over with braſs knobs, and bound round the middle with a girdle, from which the ſabre was appended behind, hanging with the point forwards, and on the right, not the left, ſide as in Europe. On the head they wore a helmet of leather, or gilt paſteboard, with flaps on each ſide that covered the cheeks and fell upon the ſhoulder. The upper part was exactly like an inverted funnel, with a long pipe terminating in a kind of ſpear, on which was bound a tuft of long hair dyed of a ſcarlet colour.

The greateſt number we ſaw at any one place might be from two to three thouſand, which were drawn up in a ſingle line along the bank of a river; and as they ſtood with an interval between each equal to the width of a man, they formed a very conſiderable line in length. Every fifth man had a ſmall triangular flag, and every tenth a large one; the ſtaffs that ſupported them were fixed to the jacket behind the ſhoulders. Some of the flags were green, edged with red; others blue, edged with yellow. I never ſaw the Chineſe troops drawn out in any other way than a ſingle line in front; not even two deep.

The Tartar cavalry appear to be remarkably ſwift, and to charge with great impetuoſity; but the horſes are ſo ſmall and are broken into ſo quick and ſhort a ſtroke that the eye is deceived. Their real ſpeed, in fact, is very moderate. Their

ſaddles are remarkably ſoft, and raiſed ſo high both before and behind, that the rider cannot eaſily be thrown out of his ſeat. The ſtirrups are ſo ſhort that the knee is almoſt as high as the chin. They have very little artillery, and that little is as wretched as it well can be. I ſuſpect it is borrowed from the Portugueze, as the matchlock moſt unqueſtionably has been.

When our fellow-traveller *Van-ta-gin* was aſked the reaſon of their pretending to give a preference to the clumſy matchlocks over the firelocks now in uſe among European troops, he replied, it had been found, after a ſevere engagement in Thibet, that the matchlocks had done much more execution than the firelocks. It is difficult to combat prejudices; but it was not very difficult to convince *Van* that the *men* might probably have been quite as much in fault as the *muſquets;* and that the ſuperior ſteadineſs of the fire from the matchlocks might poſſibly be owing to their being fixed, by an iron fork, into the ground. The miſſionaries have aſſigned a very abſurd reaſon for firelocks not being uſed in China; they ſay the dampneſs of the air is apt to make the flint miſs fire. With equal propriety might theſe gentlemen have aſſerted that flints would not emit fire in Italy. Their want of good iron and ſteel to manufacture locks, or the bad quality of their gunpowder, might perhaps be offered as better reaſons; and as the beſt of all their want of courage and coolneſs to make uſe of them with that ſteadineſs which is required to produce the effects of which they are capable. Their favourite inſtrument is the bow, which, like all other miſſile weapons, requires leſs courage to

manage, than thoſe which bring man to oppoſe himſelf in cloſe conteſt with man.

Although the Tartars have found it expedient to continue the Chineſe army on the old footing, it may naturally be ſuppoſed they would endeavour to ſecure themſelves by all poſſible means in the poſſeſſion of this vaſt empire, and that they would uſe every exertion to recruit the army with their own countrymen, in preference to the Chineſe. Every Tartar male child is accordingly enrolled. This precaution was neceſſary, as their whole army, at the time of the conqueſt, is ſaid not to have exceeded eighty thouſand men. At this time, in fact, a weak adminiſtration had ſuffered the empire to be torn aſunder by convulſions. Every department, both civil and military, was under the control of eunuchs. Six thouſand of theſe creatures are ſaid to have been turned adrift by the Tartars on taking poſſeſſion of the palace in Pekin.

The conduct of the Mantchoo Tartars, whoſe race is now on the throne, was a maſter-piece of policy little to be expected in a tribe of people that had been conſidered but as half civilized. They entered the Chineſe dominions as auxiliaries againſt two rebel chiefs, but ſoon perceived they might become the principals. Having placed their leader on the vacant throne, inſtead of ſetting up for conquerors, they melted at once into the maſs of the conquered. They adopted the dreſs, the manners, and the opinions of the people. In all the civil departments of the ſtate they appointed the ableſt Chineſe, and all vacancies were filled with Chineſe in preference to

Tartars.

Tartars. They learned the Chineſe language; married into Chineſe families; encouraged Chineſe ſuperſtitions; and, in ſhort, omitted no ſtep that could tend to incorporate them as one nation. Their great object was to ſtrengthen the army with their own countrymen, whilſt the Chineſe were ſo ſatisfied with the change, that they almoſt doubted whether a change had really taken place.

The uninterrupted ſucceſſion of four Emperors, all of whom were endowed with excellent underſtandings, uncommon vigour of mind, and deciſion of character, has hitherto obviated the danger of ſuch an enormous diſproportion between the governors and the governed. The wiſdom, prudence, and energy of theſe Emperors have not only maintained the family on the throne, the fifth of which now fills it, but have enlarged the dominions to an extent of which hiſtory furniſhes no parallel. The preſent Emperor, *Kia-king*, is ſaid to poſſeſs the learning and prudence of his father, and the firmneſs of *Kaung-Shee;* but it is probable he will have a more difficult taſk in governing the empire than either of his predeceſſors. In proportion as the Tartar power has increaſed, they have become leſs ſolicitous to conciliate the Chineſe. All the heads of departments are now Tartars. The miniſters are all Tartars; and moſt of the offices of high truſt and power are filled by Tartars. And although the ancient language of the country is ſtill preſerved as the court language, yet it is more than probable that Tartar pride, encreaſing with its growing power, will ere long be induced to adopt its own.

The

The Emperor *Kaung-Shee* indeed took uncommon pains to improve the Mantchoo language, and to form it into a ſyſtematic *Theſaurus* or dictionary; and *Tchien-Lung* directed that the children of all ſuch parents as were one a Tartar, the other a Chineſe, ſhould be taught the Mantchoo language; and that they might paſs their examinations for office in that language. I could obſerve, that the young men of the royal family at *Yuen-min-yuen* ſpoke with great contempt of the Chineſe. One of them, perceiving that I was deſirous of acquiring ſome knowledge of the Chineſe written character, took great pains to convince me that the Tartar language was much ſuperior to it; and he not only offered to furniſh me with the alphabet and ſome books, but with his inſtructions alſo, if I would give up the Chineſe, which, he obſerved, was not to be acquired in the courſe of a man's whole life. I could not forbear remarking, how very much theſe young princes enjoyed a jeſt levelled againſt the Chineſe. An ill-natured remark, for inſtance, on the cramped feet and the hobbling gait of a Chineſe woman met with their hearty approbation; but they were equally diſpleaſed on hearing the clumſy ſhoes worn by the Tartar ladies compared to the broad flat-bottomed junks of the Chineſe.

Although the ancient inſtitutes and laws, the eſtabliſhed forms of office, the pageantry of adminiſtration, were all retained, and the dreſs, the manners, and external deportment of the vanquiſhed were aſſumed by the victors, yet the native character remained diſtinct; and now, in the higher departments of office eſpecially, it burſts through all diſguiſe. The conſcious ſuperio-

ſuperiority of the one checks and overawes the other. " Moſt " of our books," obſerves Lord Macartney, " confound the " two people together, and talk of them as if they made only " one nation under the general name of China; but whatever " might be concluded from any outward appearances, the real " diſtinction is never forgotten by the ſovereign who, though " he pretends to be perfectly impartial, conducts himſelf at " bottom by a ſyſtematic nationality, and never for a moment " loſes ſight of the cradle of his power. The ſcience of go- " vernment in the *Eaſtern* world, is underſtood by thoſe who " govern very differently from what it is in the *Weſtern*. " When the ſucceſſion of a conteſted kingdom in Europe is " once aſcertained, whether by violence or compromiſe, the " nation returns to its priſtine regularity and compoſure: it " matters little whether a Bourbon or an Auſtrian fills " the throne of Naples or of Spain, becauſe the ſovereign, " whoever he be, then becomes to all intents and purpoſes, a " Spaniard or Neapolitan, and his deſcendants continue ſo " with accelerated velocity. George the Firſt and George the " Second ceaſed to be foreigners from the moment our ſceptre " was fixed in their hands; and His preſent Majeſty is as " much an Engliſhman as King Alfred or King Edgar, and go- " verns his people not by Teutonic, but by Engliſh laws.

" The policy of Aſia is totally oppoſite. There the prince " regards the place of his nativity as an accident of mere indif- " ference. If the parent root be good, he thinks it will flouriſh " in every ſoil, and perhaps acquire freſh vigour from tranſ- " plantation. It is not locality, but his own caſt and family;

" it

" it is not the country where he drew his breath, but the blook " from which he ſprung; it is not the ſcenery of the theatre, " but the ſpirit of the drama, that engages his attention and " occupies his thoughts. A ſeries of two hundred years, in the " ſucceſſion of eight or ten monarchs, did not change the Mo- " gul into a Hindoo, nor has a century and a half made *Tchien-* " *Lung* a Chineſe. He remains, at this hour, in all his " maxims of policy, as true a Tartar as any of his an- " ceſtors."

Whether this moſt ancient empire among men will long continue in its ſtability and integrity, can only be matter of conjecture, but certain it is, the Chineſe are greatly diſſatisfied, and not without reaſon, at the imperious tone now openly aſſumed by the Tartars; and though they are obliged to cringe and ſubmit, in order to riſe to any diſtinction in the ſtate, yet they unanimouſly load them with

" Curſes, not loud, but deep, mouth-honour, breath *."

* The laſt accounts, indeed, that have been received from China, are rather of an alarming nature. A very ſerious rebellion had broken out in the weſtern provinces, which had extended to that of Canton, the object of which was the overthrow of the Tartar government. It was known for ſome years paſt, as I before obſerved, that certain ſecret ſocieties were forming in the different provinces, who correſponded together by unknown ſigns, agreed upon by convention, but they were not conſidered to be of that extent as to cauſe any uneaſineſs to the government. It appears, however, that not fewer than forty thouſand men had aſſembled in arms in the province of Canton, at the head of whom was a man of the family of the laſt Chineſe Emperor, who had aſſumed the Imperial Yellow. Theſe rebels, it ſeems, are conſiderably encouraged in their cauſe by a prophecy, which is current among the people, that the preſent Tartar dynaſty ſhall be overturned in the year 1804. The exiſtence of ſuch a prophecy may be more dangerous to the Tartar government than the arms of the rebels, by aſſiſting to bring about its own accompliſhment.

Whenever

Whenever the diſmemberment or diſlocation of this great machine ſhall take place, either by a rebellion or revolution, it muſt be at the expence of many millions of lives. For, as is well obſerved by Lord Macartney, " A ſudden tranſition from " ſlavery to freedom, from dependence to authority, can ſel- " dom be borne with moderation or diſcretion. Every change " in the ſtate of man ought to be gentle and gradual, other- " wiſe it is commonly dangerous to himſelf, and intolerable to " others. A due preparation may be as neceſſary for liberty, " as for inoculation of the ſmall-pox, which, like liberty, is " future health but, without due preparation, is almoſt certain " deſtruction. Thus then the Chineſe, if not led to emanci- " pation by degrees, but let looſe on a burſt of enthuſiaſm, " would probably fall into all the exceſſes of folly, ſuffer all " the paroxyſms of madneſs, and be found as unfit for " the enjoyment of rational freedom, as the French and the " negroes."

CHAP. VIII.

Conjectures on the Origin of the Chineſe.—Their Religious Sects,—Tenets,—and Ceremonies.

Embaſſy departs from Pekin, and is lodged in a Temple.—Colony from Egypt not neceſſary to be ſuppoſed, in order to account for Egyptian Mythology in China.—Opinions concerning Chineſe Origin.—Obſervations on the Heights of Tartary.—Probably the Reſting-place of the Ark of Noah.—Ancients ignorant of the Chineſe.—Seres.—Firſt known Intercourſe of Foreigners with China.—Jews.—Budhiſts.—Neſtorians.—Mahomedans.—Roman Catholics.—Quarrels of the Jeſuits and Dominicans.—Religion of Confucius.—Attached to the Prediction of future Events.—Notions entertained by him of a future State.—Of the Deity.—Doctrine not unlike that of the Stoics.—Ceremonies in Honour of his Memory led to Idolatry.—Miſrepreſentations of the Miſſionaries with regard to the Religion of the Chineſe.—The Tao-tze *or* Sons of Immortals.—*Their Beverage of Life.—The Diſciples of* Fo *or Budhiſts.—Compariſon of ſome of the Hindu, Greek, Egyptian, and Chineſe Deities.—The* Lotos *or* Nelumbium.—*Story of* Oſiris *and* Iſis, *and the* Iſia *compared with the Imperial Ceremony of Ploughing.—Women viſit the Temples.—Practical Part of Chineſe Religion.—Funeral Obſequies.—Feaſt of Lanterns.—Obeiſance to the Emperor performed in Temples leads to Idolatry.—Primitive Religion loſt or corrupted.—Summary of Chineſe Religion.*

THE ſuſpicious and watchful conduct of the Chineſe government towards ſtrangers was ill ſuited to the free and independent ſpirit of Britons. Confined within the limits of their hotel, the populous capital of China was to them little better than

than a deſert. It was, therefore, leſs painful to be obliged to quit a place which they could conſider in no other light than as an honourable priſon, and to take leave of a people, whoſe general character ſeemed to be ſtrongly marked with pride, meanneſs, and ignorance. After having paſſed ſome time in a nation, where every petty officer is a tyrant, and every man a ſlave, how doubly precious do the bleſſings of that true liberty appear, which our happy conſtitution affords to every one the means of enjoying at home; where property is ſecured from violence, and where the life of the meaneſt ſubject is equally protected with that of the prince. Let thoſe viſionary men, who amuſe themſelves in building Utopian governments, and thoſe who, from real or fancied injury or neglect, feel the chagrin of diſappointment, viſit other countries, and experience how juſtice is adminiſtered in other nations; they will then be taught to confeſs that real liberty exiſts only in Great Britain—in that happy iſland where, to uſe the expreſſion of an eminent writer on the laws of nations *, "an enlightened piety in the "people is the firmeſt ſupport of lawful authority; and in the "ſovereign's breaſt, it is the pledge of the people's ſafety, and "excites their confidence."

Impreſſed with ſuch ſentiments, on the evening of the 7th of October I rode through the ſtreets of Pekin, for the laſt time, in company with Mr. Maxwell. We were quite alone, not a ſingle Chineſe ſervant, nor ſoldier, nor officer to conduct us; yet we had no difficulty in finding our way. We paſſed

* Vattel.

through the broad ſtreets of this capital from one extremity to the other without the leaſt moleſtation, or, indeed, the leaſt notice. We could not forbear remarking the extraordinary contraſt, that the two greateſt cities in the world exhibited at this hour of the day. In the public ſtreets of Pekin, after five or ſix o'clock in the evening, ſcarcely a human creature is ſeen to move, but they abound with dogs and ſwine. All its inhabitants, having finiſhed the buſineſs of the day, are now retired to their reſpective homes to eat their rice and, agreeably with the cuſtom of their great Emperor, which to them is a law, to lie down with the ſetting ſun; at which time in London, the crowd is ſo great, from Hyde Park corner to Mile End, as to interrupt each other. In Pekin, from the moment the day begins to dawn, the buzz and the buſtle of the populace is like that of a ſwarm of bees; whilſt, on the contrary, the ſtreets of London at an early hour in the morning are nearly deſerted. At eight in the evening, even in ſummer, the gates of Pekin are ſhut, and the keys ſent to the governor, after which they cannot be opened on any conſideration.

The Embaſſador and the reſt of the ſuite, with the ſoldiers, ſervants and muſicians had, ſeveral hours before us, ſet out in a ſort of proceſſion, in which an officer of government on horſeback took the lead, with the letter of the Emperor of China to the King of England ſlung acroſs his ſhoulders, in a wooden caſe covered with yellow ſilk. At a late hour in the night, we joined the reſt of the party in the ſuburbs of *Tong-tchoo-foo*, where we were once more lodged among the gods of the nation, in a temple that was conſecrated to the patronizing deity of the city.

There

There are no inns in any part of this vaſt empire; or, to ſpeak more correctly (for there are reſting-places), no inhabited and furniſhed houſes where, in conſideration of paying a certain ſum of money, a traveller may purchaſe the refreſhments of comfortable reſt, and of allaying the calls of hunger. The ſtate of ſociety admits of no ſuch accommodation, and much leſs ſuch as, in many countries, proceeds from a ſpirit of diſintereſted hoſpitality; on the contrary, in this country, they invariably ſhut their doors againſt a ſtranger. What they call inns are mean hovels, conſiſting of bare walls where, perhaps, a traveller may procure his cup of tea for a piece of copper money, and permiſſion to paſs the night; but this is the extent of the comforts which ſuch places hold out. The practice indeed of travelling by land is ſo rare, except occaſionally in thoſe parts of the country which admit not the convenience of inland navigations, or at ſuch times when theſe are frozen up, that the profits which might ariſe from the entertainment of paſſengers could not ſupport a houſe of decent accommodation. The officers of ſtate invariably make uſe of the conveniencies which the temples offer, as being ſuperior to any other which the country affords; and the prieſts, well knowing how vain it would be to reſiſt, or remonſtrate, patiently ſubmit, and reſign the temporary uſe of their apartments without a murmur.

In moſt countries of the civilized world, the buildings appropriated for religious worſhip and the repoſitories of their gods, are generally held ſacred. In the monaſteries of thoſe parts of Europe, where inns are not to be found, the apartments of the monks are ſometimes reſorted to by travellers, but in China the

very *ſanctum ſanctorum* is invaded. Every corner is indiſcriminately occupied by men in power, if they ſhould require it. Sometimes, alſo, the whole building is made a common place of reſort for vagrants and idlers, where gamblers mix with gods, and prieſts with pick-pockets. In juſtice, however, it muſt be obſerved, that the prieſts of the two popular religions which predominate in the country ſhew no inclination to encourage, by joining in, the vicious practices of the rabble; but having no pay nor emolument from government, and being rather tolerated than ſupported, they are obliged to ſubmit to and to overlook abuſes of this nature, and even to allow the profane practices of the rabble in the very hours of their devotion. Yet there is a decency of behaviour, a ſort of pride and dignity in the deportment of a Chineſe prieſt, that readily diſtinguiſh him from the vulgar. The calumnies, which ſome of the Roman catholic miſſionaries have ſo induſtriouſly circulated againſt them, ſeem to have no foundation in truth. The near reſemblance of their dreſs and holy rites to thoſe of their own faith was ſo mortifying a circumſtance, that none of the miſſionaries I converſed with could ſpeak with temper of the prieſts of China. I could not even prevail on our interpreter of the *propaganda fide*, who ſtill manifeſted a predilection for the cuſtoms of his country in every other reſpect, to ſtep into the temple where the altar was placed; nor could he be induced, by any perſuaſion, to give or to aſk an explanation of their myſterious doctrines.

There is no ſubject, perhaps, on which a traveller ought to ſpeak with leſs confidence, than on the religious opinions of the

the people he may chance to viſit, in countries out of Europe, eſpecially when thoſe opinions are grounded on a very remote antiquity. The allegorical alluſions in which they might originally have been involved, the various changes they may ſince have undergone, the ceremonies and types under which they are ſtill exhibited, in their modern dreſs, render them ſo wholly unintelligible that, although they may have been founded in truth and reaſon, they now appear abſurd and ridiculous; equally inexplicable by the people themſelves who profeſs them, as by thoſe who are utter ſtrangers. The various modes, indeed, under which the Creator and Ruler of the Univerſe is recogniſed by various nations, all tending to one point, but ſetting out in very different directions, can only be underſtood and reconciled by a thorough knowledge of the language, the hiſtory, and the habits of the people; of their origin and connections with other nations; and, even after ſuch knowledge has been obtained, it is no eaſy taſk to ſeparate fable from metaphor, and truth from fiction. For theſe reaſons, the religion of China appears to be fully as obſcure and inexplicable as that of almoſt any other of the oriental nations. The language of the country, added to the jealouſy of the government in admitting foreigners, have thrown almoſt inſuperable obſtacles in the way of clearing up this intricate ſubject; and thoſe few, who only have had opportunities of overcoming theſe difficulties, were unfortunately men of that claſs, whoſe opinions were ſo warped by the prejudices imbibed with the tenets of their own religion, that the accounts given by them are not always to be depended upon. As I have already obſerved, they

cannot

cannot bring themſelves to ſpeak or to write of the prieſts of China with any degree of temper or moderation.

It would be preſumptuous in me to ſuppoſe, for a moment, that I am qualified to remove the veil of darkneſs that covers the popular religion of China. But as, in the practice of this religion, it is impoſſible not to diſcover a common origin with the ſyſtems of other nations in ancient times, it may not be improper to introduce a few remarks on the ſubject, and to enquire if hiſtory will enable us to point out, in what manner they might have received or communicated the ſuperſtitions and metaphyſical ideas that ſeem to prevail among them. The obvious coincidence between ſome parts of the mythological doctrines of the ancient Egyptians and Greeks, with thoſe of China, induced the learned Monſieur de Guignes and many of the Jeſuits to infer, that a colony from Egypt, at ſome remote period, had paſſed into China. This however does not appear probable. The Chineſe are not a mixed but a diſtinct race of men; and their countenance has nothing of the ancient Egyptian in it. Nor indeed is it neceſſary to ſuppoſe any ſuch connection, in order to explain the veſtiges of Egyptian mythology that may appear in their temples. We are informed by hiſtory that when Alexander marched into India, about three centuries before the birth of Chriſt, many learned Greeks accompanied him on this memorable expedition; and we are further informed that, two centuries after this period when the perſecutions and cruelties of Ptolemy Phyſcon expelled great numbers of learned and pious Greeks and Egyptians from the city of Alexandria, they travelled eaſtward in ſearch

of

of an aſylum among the Perſians and the Indians; ſo that there is nothing extraordinary in meeting with Greek and Egyptian ſuperſtitions among nations of the Eaſt; even where no veſtige of their language remains. For it may be obſerved that, whenever colonies emigrate from their own country and ſettle among ſtrangers, they are much more apt to loſe their native language, than their religious dogmas and ſuperſtitious notions. Neceſſity indeed may compel them to adopt the language of the new country into which they have emigrated, but any compulſive meaſures to draw them to another religion ſerve only to ſtrengthen them in their own. The French refugees at the Cape of Good Hope totally loſt their language in leſs than ſeventy years; and, ſingular as it may appear, I met with a deſerter from one of the Scotch regiments, on the borders of the Kaffer country, who had ſo far forgot his language, in the courſe of about three years, that he was not able to make himſelf intelligible by it. Many languages, we know, have totally been loſt, and others ſo changed as ſcarcely to preſerve any traces of their original form *.

Mr.

* This conſideration on the tranſient nature of languages, and eſpecially of thoſe whoſe fleeting ſounds have never been fixed by any graphic invention, makes it the more ſurprizing how Lord Kames, in his ſketch on the origin and progreſs of American nations, after obſerving that no paſſage by land had been diſcovered between America and the old world, ſhould have given it as his opinion, that an enquiry, much more deciſive as to the former being peopled by the latter, might be purſued, by aſcertaining whether the ſame language be ſpoken by the inhabitants on the two ſides of the ſtrait that divides the northern regions of America from Kamſkatka. And that, after finding this not to be the caſe, he ſhould conclude that the former could not have been peopled by the latter. Had not Lord Kames written upon a ſyſtem of a ſeparate and local creation, pre-eſtabliſhed in his own mind, he would unqueſtionably have laid more ſtreſs upon a reſemblance in their phyſical characters,

Mr. Bailly, with ſome other learned and ingenious men, was of opinion, that many fragments of the old and abſurd fables of China are diſcoverable in the ancient hiſtory of the Hindûs, from the birth of *Fo-ſhee*, the founder of the empire (*Fo-hi*, as the French write the word,) until the introduction of Budha, or Fo. Like the Hindûs, it is true, they have always ſhewn a remarkable predilection for the number *nine*. Confucius calls it the moſt perfect of numbers. But the Scythians, or Tartars, have alſo conſidered this as a ſacred number. It is true, likewiſe, they reſemble ſome of the Indian nations, in the obſervance of ſolſtitial and equinoxial ſacrifices; in making offerings to the manes of their anceſtors; in the dread of leaving no offſpring behind them, to pay the cuſtomary obſequies to their memory; in obſerving eight cardinal or principal points of the world; in the diviſion of the Zodiac, and in a variety of other coincidences, which the learned Mr. Bryant accounts for by ſuppoſing the Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, and Indians, to be derived from one common ſtock, and that ſome of theſe people carried their religion and their learning into China. No proof however is adduced, either by him or others, of ſuch a communication; and an aſſertion directly the contrary might have been made with equal plauſibility.

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in their ſuperſtitions and religious notions, than on ſimilarity of language; which, among the many acquirements of the human ſpecies, or of human inſtitution, is not the leaſt liable to change by a change of ſituation, eſpecially where no written character has been employed to fix it. His Lordſhip's concluſion is the more extraordinary, as he had already obſerved that the reſemblance between them was perfect in every other reſpect.

That

That the Chineſe do not owe their origin to the ſame ſtock, their phyſical character is of itſelf a ſufficient proof. The ſmall eye, rounded at the extremity next the noſe, inſtead of being angular, as is the caſe in that of Europeans, its oblique inſtead of horizontal poſition, and the flat and broad root of the noſe, are features or characters entirely diſtinct from the Hindu, the Greek, or the Roman; and belong more properly to the natives of that vaſt extent of country, which was known to the ancients by the name of Scythia, and, in modern times, by that of Tartary. There is ſcarcely in nature two of the human ſpecies that differ more widely than a Chineſe and a Hindu, ſetting aſide the difference of colour, which however modern enquiries have determined to have little or no relation to climate, but rather to ſome original formation of the different ſpecies. The Mantchoo, and indeed all the other Tartar tribes bordering upon China, are ſcarcely diſtinguiſhable from the Chineſe. The ſame colour, except in a few inſtances as I have elſewhere obſerved, the ſame eyes, and general turn of the countenance prevail, on the continent of Aſia, from the tropic of Cancer to the Frozen Ocean *. The peninſula of Malacca, and the vaſt multitude of iſlands ſpread over the eaſtern ſeas, and inhabited by the Malays, as well as thoſe of Japan and Lieou-kieou, have clearly been peopled from the ſame common ſtock. The firſt race of people to the northward of Hindoſtan, that poſſeſs

* It is ſufficiently remarkable, that the Emperor *Kaung-hee*, in giving, by public edict, ſome account to his ſubjects of the different nations of Aſia and Europe, ſhould make the following obſervation. "To the ſouthward of the *Coſſack* country a horde "of *Hoo-tſe* (Turks) is eſtabliſhed, who are deſcended from the ſame ſtock with *Yuen-*"*tay-tſe*, formerly Emperors of China."

the Tartar countenance, ſo different from that of the Hindus, are the inhabitants of Bootan. " The *Booteeas*," ſays Captain Turner, " have invariably black hair, which it is their faſhion " to cut ſhort to the head. The eye is a very remarkable " feature of the face; ſmall, black, with long pointed cor- " ners *, as though ſtretched and extended by artificial means. " Their eye-laſhes are ſo thin as to be ſcarcely perceptible, and " the eye-brow is but ſlightly ſhaded. Below the eyes is the " broadeſt part of the face, which is rather flat, and narrows " from the cheek-bones to the chin; a character of countenance " appearing firſt to take its riſe among the Tartar tribes, but " is by far more ſtrongly marked in the Chineſe."

The heights of Tartary, bulging out beyond the general ſurface of the globe, have been conſidered, indeed, by many as the cradle of the human ſpecies, or ſtill more emphatically, and perhaps more properly, as *the foundery of the human race.* This opinion did not ariſe ſolely from the vaſt multitudes of people correſponding with the Tartar character, that are ſpread over every part of the eaſtern world, and who in countleſs ſwarms once overran all Europe, but was grounded on a ſuppoſition, that the whole ſurface of the globe, or the greater part of it, has at one time been ſubmerſed in water, and that Tartary was the laſt to be covered, and the firſt that was uncovered; and the place from whence, of courſe, a new ſet of creatures were forged as in a workſhop, from ſome remnant of the old ſtock, to be the germs of future nations.

* The *exterior* angles are here meant which, in the Chineſe alſo, are extended in the ſame or a greater proportion than the *interior* ones are rounded off.

Almoſt

Almoſt every part of the earth, indeed, affords the moſt unequivocal indications that ſuch has actually been the caſe, not only in the ſeveral marine productions that have been diſcovered in high mountains, at a diſtance from any ſea, and equally deep under the ſurface of the earth; but more eſpecially in the formation of the mountains themſelves, the very higheſt of which, except thoſe of granite, conſiſting frequently of tabular maſſes piled on each other in ſuch regular and horizontal ſtrata, that their ſhape and appearance cannot be otherwiſe accounted for, or explained by any known principle in nature, except by ſuppoſing them at one time to have exiſted in a ſtate of fluidity, by the agency of fire or of water, a point which ſeems to be not quite decided between the Volcaniſts and the Neptuniſts. The heights of Tartary are unqueſtionably the higheſt land in the *old* world. In America they may, perhaps, be exceeded. *Gerbillon*, who was a tolerable good mathematician and furniſhed with inſtruments, aſſures us, that the mountain *Pe-tcha*, very inferior to many in Tartary, is nine Chineſe *lees*, or about fifteen thouſand feet, above the level of the plains of China. This mountain, as well as all the others in the ſame country, is compoſed of ſand ſtone, and reſts upon plains of ſand, mixed with rock ſalt and ſaltpetre. The *Sha-moo*, or immenſe deſert of ſand, which ſtretches along the north-weſt frontier of China and divides it from weſtern Tartary, is not leſs elevated than the *Pe-tcha*, and is ſaid to reſemble the bed of the ocean. Some of the mountains ſtarting out of this *ſea of ſand*, which its name implies, cannot be leſs than twenty thouſand feet above the level of the eaſtern ocean.

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The formation of the earth affords a wide field for ſpeculation; and, accordingly, many ingenious theories have been conceived to explain the various appearances which its ſurface exhibits. The beſt modern naturaliſts ſeem, however, to agree, that water has been one of the principal agents to produce theſe effects. The great Linnæus, whoſe penetrating mind pervaded the whole empire of nature, after many and laborious enquiries, acquieſced in the truth of the ſacred writings, that the whole globe of the earth was, at ſome period of time, ſubmerſed in water, and covered with the vaſt ocean, until in the lapſe of time one little iſland appeared in this immenſe ſea, which iſland muſt have been of courſe the higheſt mountain upon the ſurface of the earth. In ſupport of his hypotheſis, he adduces a number of facts, many of which have fallen within his own obſervation, of the progreſſive retreat of the ſea, the diminution of ſprings and rivers, and the neceſſary increment of land. Among the moſt remarkable of theſe are the obſervations made by the inhabitants of Northern Bothnia upon the rocks on the ſea coaſt, from whence it appeared that, in the courſe of a century, the ſea had ſubſided more than four feet; ſo that ſix thouſand years ago, ſuppoſing the rate of retiring to have been the ſame, the ſea was higher than at preſent by two hundred and forty feet. Such great and ſenſible depreſſion of the water of the ſea muſt, however, have been only local, otherwiſe, as I have elſewhere obſerved, the Red Sea and the Mediterranean would have joined within the period of hiſtory. The ſea, it is true, in ſome parts of the world, gains upon the land, and in others the land upon the ſea, but theſe effects ariſe from a different cauſe to that which is ſuppoſed to produce a general

neral retreat. It is true, alſo, that in the neighbourhood of mountains and great rivers, very material changes have taken place in the courſe of a few ages. The fragments of the former, worn away by the alternate action of the ſun and rains, are borne down by the torrents of the latter, and depoſited in the eddies formed by the two banks of the rivers where they join the ſea, producing thus alluvious land as, for example, the Delta of Egypt, which has gradually been depoſited out of the ſoil of Abyſſinia and Upper Egypt; the plains of the northern parts of China, which have been formed out of the mountains of Tartary; and thoſe of India from the Thebetian mountains, and the other high lands to the northward and weſtward of the peninſula. As, however, a much greater proportion of the fragments borne down by rivers muſt be depoſited in the boſom of the deep than on its ſhores, the ſea by this conſtant and effective operation ought rather to advance than to retreat. We may therefore, perhaps, conclude that, whatever the changes may have been which the ſurface of the earth has undergone, with regard to the proportion and the poſition of land and water, the appearances we now behold in various parts of the globe can only be explained by ſuppoſing ſome temporary and preternatural cauſe, or elſe by aſſuming an incalculable period of time for their production.

But to return from this digreſſion to the more immediate ſubject of the preſent ſection. It is ſufficiently remarkable, and no inconſiderable proof of the truth of the Sacred Writings, that almoſt every nation has ſome traditionary account of a deluge, ſome making it univerſal, and others local: preſuming, however,

however, the former to be correct, which is not only juſtified by the teſtimony of the author of the Pentateuch, but by natural appearances, it might perhaps be ſhewn, with no great deviation from the generally received opinion, that, inſtead of Perſia being the hive in which was preſerved a remnant of the ancient world for the continuation of the ſpecies, thoſe who have ſuppoſed Tartary to be the cradle, from whence the preſent race of men iſſued, have adopted the more plauſible conjecture. If it be borne in mind that, in every part of the bible hiſtory, the expreſſions are accommodated to the underſtandings of thoſe for whom they were intended, rather than ſtrictly conformable to facts, and more conſonant to appearances than realities, it may be ſuppoſed, without any offence to the moſt rigid believer, that by the mount Ararat was not ſtrictly meant the identical mountain of that name, which has been recognized in Armenia, but rather the higheſt mountain on the face of the globe; for, if this were not the caſe, the Moſaic account would be contradictory in itſelf, as we are told that, "all the high "hills that were under the whole Heaven were covered." This conceſſion being allowed, we may ſuppoſe that the ark, inſtead of reſting in Armenia, firſt ſtruck ground in that part of Tartary which is now inhabited by the Eleuths, as being the moſt elevated tract of country in the old world. From theſe heights large rivers flow towards every quarter of the horizon. It is here that the ſources of the Selenga are found, deſcending to the northward into the lake Baikal, and from thence by the Eneſei and the Lena into the Frozen Ocean: of the Amour, which empties its waters to the eaſtward into the gulph of Tartary: of the two great rivers of China flowing to the ſouthward, and

of numberleſs lakes and rivers diſcharging their waters to the weſtward, ſome burying themſelves in deſerts of ſand, and others working their way to the great lake of Aral and the Caſpian ſea.

From ſuch a ſituation, admitting the earth to have been peopled in ſucceſſion, the two great rivers which took the ſoutherly direction and croſſed the fertile and extenſive plains of China, were fully as likely to direct the few ſurvivors of the deluge to this country, as that they ſhould follow any of the other ſtreams; and probably more ſo, as theſe led to a warmer and more comfortable climate, where fewer wants were felt and thoſe few more eaſily ſupplied. Conſidered in this point of view, the opinion of the Jeſuits will not appear ſo ill founded, which ſuppoſes that Noah, ſeparating from his rebellious family, travelled with a part of his offspring into the eaſt, and founded the Chineſe monarchy; and that he is the ſame perſon as the *Foo-ſhee* * of their hiſtory. The words of ſcripture *from the eaſt*, an ingenious commentator has obſerved, ought more properly to be tranſlated, *at the beginning*. At all events, the fact I conclude to be irreſiſtible, that the Tartars and the Chineſe have one common origin, and the queſtion then is ſimply this, whether the fertile plains of China were abandoned for the bleak and barren heights of Tartary, or that the wandering and half-famiſhed

* As a corroborating proof of the Chineſe being of Scythic origin, it may be obſerved, that the adjunct character *Shee* (to the family name *Foo*) is compoſed of a *ſheep*, *rice*, an *arrow*, and the conjunctive character *alſo*, from whence may be inferred that he united the occupations of *ſhepherd*, *agriculturiſt*, and *warrior*.

Scythians deſcended into regions whoſe temperature and productions were more congenial to the nature of man.

If, however, we allow China to have been among the firſt nations formed after the flood, it does not appear to have kept pace in learning and in arts with the Chaldeans, the Aſſyrians, or the Egyptians. Before the time of Confucius, its progreſs in civilization ſeems to have been very ſlow. He was the firſt perſon who digeſted any thing like a hiſtory of the kings of Loo; for, in his time, the country was divided among a number of petty princes, who lived at the head of their families, much in the ſame manner as formerly the chiefs of the clans in the Highlands of Scotland; or, perhaps, more properly ſpeaking, like the German princes, whoſe petty ſtates are ſo many parts of one great empire. It is now about two thouſand years ſince the ſeveral monarchies were conſolidated in one undivded and abſolute empire. There are ſeveral reaſons for ſuppoſing that, before this period, China made no great figure among the poliſhed nations of the world, although it produced a Confucius, ſome of whoſe works demonſtrate a vigorous and an enlightened mind. From the commentaries of this philoſopher on one of their claſſical books *, it would appear that a regular ſucceſſion of Emperors could be traced near two thouſand years back from his time, or more than four thouſand years from the preſent period. The duration of the dynaſties, with their ſeveral Emperors, which he enumerates, and the detail of occurrences in each reign, make the truth of the hiſtory ſufficiently plauſible, though the chronology, from their total ignorance of aſtro-

* The *Shoo-king*.

nomy,

nomy, muſt neceſſarily be defective. It is ſtill an extraordinary circumſtance, that none of the ancient claſſical authors ſhould have had the leaſt knowledge of ſuch a nation. Homer neither mentions them nor makes any alluſion to ſuch a people; and Herodotus ſeems to have been equally ignorant of their exiſtence; and yet, according to the beſt chronologiſts, Herodotus and Confucius muſt have been contemporaries. It may fairly be concluded then, that the early Greeks had no knowledge of the Chineſe. Even more than a century after the father of hiſtory flouriſhed, when the Perſian empire was overthrown by Alexander, it does not appear that the Chineſe were known to this nation; which in all probability would have been the caſe, notwithſtanding their averſion to any intercourſe with foreigners, had they conſtituted, at that time, a large and powerful empire; perhaps, indeed, the ignorance of the Perſians might ariſe from the intervention of the civilized nations of India, whoſe numbers might have made it prudent in the former to direct their arms conſtantly towards the weſt rather than to the eaſt.

It has been an opinion pretty generally adopted, that the people known to the ancients by the name of *Seres* were the ſame as the Chineſe, partly on account of their eaſtern ſituation, and partly becauſe the principal ſilk manufactures were ſuppoſed to be brought from thence, which gave the Romans occaſion to name the country *Sericum*. The Romans, however, received the trifling quantity of ſilk made uſe of by them from Perſia, and not from China, nor from the country of the Seres. Nor is it probable, that the latter ſhould be the Chineſe, who are ſaid to have ſent an embaſſy to Auguſtus, in order to court

the friendſhip of the Romans, it being ſo very contrary to their fundamental laws, which not only prohibit any intercourſe with ſtrangers, but allow not any of the natives to leave the country. The fact, indeed, of this embaſſy reſts ſolely upon the authority of Lucius A. Florus, who wrote his hiſtory, if it may ſo be called, nearly a century after the death of Auguſtus: and, as none of the hiſtorians contemporary with that Emperor, take any notice of ſuch an event, it is more than probable that no ſuch embaſſy was ſent to Rome *.

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* Ptolemy, the Geographer, places Serica adjoining to Scythia, *extra Imaum*, correſponding with Caſhgar, Tangut, and Kitai, countries famous for the cultivation of the cotton plant. It would ſeem, indeed, from all the paſſages which occur in ancient authors concerning the Seres, that cotton was the ſubſtance alluded to, rather than ſilk, and that theſe people were not the preſent Chineſe, but the Tartars of Kitai.

Quid nemora Æthiopum molli canentia lana?
Velleraque ut foliis depectant tenuia Seres?
Virg. Georg. ii. v. 120.

——— *Primique nova Phaethonte retecti*
Seres lanigeris repetebant vellera lucis.
Sil. Ital. l. 6. v. 3.

——— *Quod molli tondent de ſtipite Seres*
Frondea lanigeræ carpentes vellera Silvæ.
Claudian.

Seres lanificio Sylvarum nobiles perfuſam aquâ depectentes frondium canitiem.
Plin. l. 6. 17.

Horace makes the Seres expert in drawing the bow, a weapon in the uſe of which the Scythians were always famous.

Doctus Sagittas tendere Sericas
Arcu paterno?
Hor. lib. i. Od. 29. v. 9.

It

The firſt people that we know to have travelled into China was a colony of Jews who, according to the records kept by their deſcendants, and which I underſtood from ſome of the miſſionaries are corroborated as to the time by Chineſe hiſtory, firſt ſettled there ſhortly after the expedition of Alexander had opened a communication with India. Nor is it at all improbable that this adventurous and induſtrious people were the firſt to carry with them, into their new country, the ſilk worm and the mode of rearing it, either from Perſia, or ſome of the neighbouring countries. The Emperor *Kaung-ſhee*, in his obſervations on natural hiſtory, takes notice that the Chineſe are greatly miſtaken when they ſay that ſilk was an excluſive product of China, for that the upper regions of India have a native worm of a larger growth, and which ſpins a ſtronger ſilk than any in China. Although indeed ancient authors are ſilent as to the article of ſilk, there are grounds for ſuppoſing it was not unknown in Tangut and Kitai. Several expreſſions in the Bible warrant the opinion that ſilk was uſed in the time of Solomon, and the *veſtes perlucidæ ac fluidæ Medis* of Juſtin ſeem to convey a deſcription of ſilken robes. This mode of the firſt introduction of ſilk into China is offered as mere conjecture, for which I have no other authority in ſupport of, than what is here mentioned, with

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It certainly cannot be inferred that by the *Seres*, in any of the above quotations, was meant the ſame people as the preſent Chineſe; on the contrary, the probability is that it did not allude to this nation, and that the ancients had not the leaſt knowledge of its exiſtence. It appears from another paſſage in Pliny, that the beſt iron in the world was in *Sericum*, and that the Seres exported it with their cloths and ſkins. The iron of the Chineſe, as I have had occaſion to obſerve, is remarkably bad, and all their articles of peltry are imported.

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the circumſtance of the Jews being ſettled chiefly in the ſilk provinces, and of their being at this time in conſiderable numbers near *Hang-tchoo-foo*, where they carry on the principal trade in this article, and have acquired the reputation of fabricating the beſt ſtuffs of this material that are made in China; nor do I know in what other way they could recommend themſelves to the Chineſe, ſo far as to have obtained the protection of this jealous government, and to be allowed to intermarry with the women of the country. It is true they have practiſed no underhand attempts to ſeduce the natives from their paternal religion, and to perſuade them to embrace their own; and although they are not very famous for the cultivation of the ſciences, yet they might have rendered themſelves extremely uſeful in ſuggeſting improvements in many of the arts and manufactures. Many of them, indeed, forſake the religion of their forefathers, and arrive at high employments in the ſtate. Few among them, I underſtand, except the Rabbis, have any knowledge of the Hebrew language, and they have long been ſo intermixed with the Chineſe, that the prieſts at the preſent day are ſaid to find ſome difficulty in keeping up their congregations. So different are the effects produced by ſuffering, inſtead of perſecuting, religious opinions.

One of the miſſionaries has given an account of his viſit to a ſynagogue of Jews in China. He found the prieſts moſt rigorouſly attached to their old law: nor had they the leaſt knowledge of any other Jeſus having appeared in the world, except the ſon of Sirach, of whom, he ſays, their hiſtory makes mention. If this be really the fact, their anceſtors could not have been

been any part of the ten tribes that were carried into captivity, but may rather be ſuppoſed to have been among the followers of Alexander's army, which agrees with their own account of the time they firſt ſettled in China. They poſſeſſed a copy of the Pentateuch and ſome other fragments of the Sacred Writings, which they had brought along with them from the weſtward, but the miſſionary's information is very imperfect, as he was ignorant of the Hebrew language *.

Although a very great ſimilarity is obſervable between many of the ancient Jewiſh rites and ceremonies and thoſe in uſe among the Chineſe, yet there ſeems to be no reaſon for ſuppoſing that the latter received any part of their religion from the

* All our enquiries, in paſſing the city of Hang-tchoo-foo, were fruitleſs with regard to theſe Iſraelites. We had hitherto entertained a hope of being able to procure, in the courſe of our journey, a copy of this ancient monument of the Jewiſh hiſtory, which the late Doctor Geddes conſidered as very deſirable to compare with thoſe already in Europe; but the haſty manner in which we travelled, and the repugnance ſhewn by our conducting officers, *Chou* and *Van* excepted, who had little power or influence in the provinces, to enter into any of our views that might appear to occaſion delay, prevented the fulfilment of thoſe hopes. It were much to be wiſhed, that the reverend miſſionaries would ſo far lay aſide their antipathy againſt opinions, not exactly coinciding with their own, and enter into ſuch a correſpondence with the Jews, as would obtain from them, which they are no doubt poſſeſſed of, an account of the progreſs made by the Chineſe in civilization and arts, ſince their firſt ſettling in that country, and of other particulars noted down by them. The circumſtance of their carrying with them their code of laws, and the hiſtory of their tribes, is a ſufficient proof that they underſtood a written language which, there can be no doubt, they would uſe the utmoſt caution not to loſe. Such an account would be more authentic than the Chineſe annals, the beſt of which abound in hyperbole, and contain facts ſo diſguiſed in metaphor, that it is no eaſy matter to extract from them the ſimple truth. At all events, the compariſon of the two hiſtories would ſerve to verify each other.

anceſtors

anceſtors of thoſe Jews that are ſtill in the country. This, however, is not the caſe with regard to the prieſts of Budha, who, according to the Chineſe records, came by the invitation of one of their Emperors from ſome part of India, near Thibet, about the ſixtieth year of the Chriſtian era. Theſe prieſts ſucceeded ſo well in introducing the worſhip of Budha, that it continues to this day to be one of the popular religions of the country; and that no traces of the original name ſhould remain is the leſs ſurpriſing, as they could not poſſibly pronounce either the B or the D; beſide, they make it an invariable rule, as I have already obſerved, not to adopt any foreign names.

In ſome part of the ſeventh century, a few Chriſtians of the Neſtorian ſect paſſed from India into China where, for a time, they were tolerated by the government. But, having moſt probably preſumed upon its indulgence, and endeavoured to ſeduce the people from the eſtabliſhed religions of the country, they were expoſed to dreadful perſecutions, and were at length entirely extirpated, after numberleſs inſtances of their ſuffering martyrdom for the opinions they had undertaken to propagate to the "utmoſt corners of the earth." When Gengis-Khan invaded China, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, a number of Chriſtians of the Greek church followed his army into this country; and they met with ſuch great encouragement from the Tartars, that when Kublai-Khan ſucceeded to the government and built the city of Pekin, he gave them a grant of ground within the walls of the city for the purpoſe of building a church, in order to retain in the empire men of ſo much learning and of abilities ſo much ſuperior to thoſe of the

Chineſe; who, however, on their part, have affected, in their hiſtory, to conſider the Monguls as the greateſt barbarians, for turning their horſes into the apartments of the palaces, while they themſelves were contented to pitch their tents in the courts or quadrangular ſpaces ſurrounded by the buildings. Father Le Compte, in his memoirs of China, ſays, but I know not on what authority, that at the taking of the city of Nankin the Tartars put all the Chineſe women in ſacks, without regard to age or rank, and ſold them to the higheſt bidder; and that ſuch as, in thus "buying the pig in the poke," happened to purchaſe an old, ugly, or deformed bargain, made no ceremony in throwing it into the river. If Father Le Compte was not the inventor of this, among many other of his pleaſant ſtories, it certainly tells as little in favour of the Chineſe, who muſt have been the purchaſers, as of the Tartars; but we will charitably ſuppoſe the thing never happened. It ſeems, however, that the overthrow of the Chineſe empire by the Mongul Tartars, was an event not to be regretted by the nation at large. By means of the learned and ſcientific men, who accompanied the expedition from Balk and Samarcand, aſtronomy was improved, their calendar was corrected, inſtruments for making celeſtial obſervations were introduced, and the direct communication between the two extremities of the empire was opened, by converting the ſtreams of rivers into an artificial bed, forming an inland navigation, not to be paralleled in any other part of the world.

It was about this period when the celebrated Venetian traveller Marco Polo viſited the Tartar Khan, then ſitting on the

throne of China; and who, on his return, gave the firſt accounts of this extraordinary empire; which appeared indeed ſo wonderful that they were generally conſidered as his own inventions. His relations of the magnificent and ſplendid palaces of the Emperor, of his immenſe wealth, of the extent of his empire, and the vaſt multitudes of people, were held to be ſo many fabrications; and as, in ſpeaking of theſe ſubjects, he ſeldom made uſe of a lower term than millions, his countrymen beſtowed upon him the epithet of *Signor Marco Millione*—Mr. Mark Million. They had no heſitation, however, in giving credit to the only incredible part of his narrative, where he relates a few miracles that were performed, in the courſe of his journey through Perſia, by ſome Neſtorean Chriſtians. Young Marco is ſaid to have accompanied three miſſionaries of the Dominican order, ſent from Venice to the capital of China, at the expreſs deſire of Kublai-Khan; but, whether they met with little encouragement in the object of their miſſion, on account of being preceded by the Chriſtians of the Greek church, or their zeal at that time was leſs ardent than in later days, is not ſtated; but it ſeems they did not remain long in the Eaſt, returning very ſoon to their native country much enriched by their travels.

During the continuance of the Tartar government, which was not quite a century, great numbers of Mahomedans likewiſe found their way from Arabia to China. Theſe people had long, indeed, been in the habit of carrying on a commercial intercourſe with the Chineſe; which, however, as at the preſent day, extended no further than the ſea-ports on the ſouthern coaſt.

coaſt. They now found no difficulty in getting acceſs to the capital, where they rendered themſelves particularly uſeful in adjuſting the chronology of the nation, and making the neceſſary calculations for the yearly calendar. Having acquired the language and adopted the dreſs and manners of the people, by degrees they turned their thoughts to the extending of their religious principles, and bringing the whole country to embrace the doctrine of their great prophet. For this end, they bought and educated at their own expence ſuch children of poor people as were likely to be expoſed in times of famine; and they employed perſons to pick up, in the ſtreets of the capital, any infants that ſhould be thrown out in the courſe of the night, and who were not too much weakened or otherwiſe injured to be recovered.

About the middle of the ſixteenth century, ſeveral Roman Catholic miſſionaries, of the order of Jeſus, penetrated into the Eaſt; and the indefatigable zeal of one of theſe, Francis Xavier, carried him as far as *San-Shian*, a ſmall iſland on the coaſt of China, where he died in the year 1552, in conſequence of the uncommon fatigues he had undergone. His brother miſſionaries have calculated that he travelled, on foot, not leſs than one hundred thouſand Engliſh miles, a great part of which was over mountains and deſarts and foreſts and burning ſands. Since a more eaſy communication with India and China has been effected by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, numbers of miſſionaries of the Catholic religion have volunteered their ſervices into thoſe countries; and although the ſole object of their miſſion is the propagation of the Chriſtian faith, they find it

neceſſary, in order to forward that object, to make themſelves uſeful to the government. In China, they are occaſionally employed as aſtronomers, mathematicians, mechanics, and interpreters. " It muſt have appeared a ſingular ſpectacle," obſerves Sir George Staunton, " to every claſs of beholders, to ſee men " actuated by motives different from thoſe of moſt human " actions, quitting for ever their country and their connexions, " to devote themſelves for life to the purpoſes of changing " the tenets of a people they had never ſeen; and in purſuing " that object to run every riſk, ſuffer every perſecution, and " ſacrifice every comfort; inſinuating themſelves, by addreſs, " by talent, by perſeverance, by humility, by application to " ſtudies foreign from their original education, or by the culti- " vation of arts to which they had not been bred, into notice " and protection; overcoming the prejudices of being ſtrangers " in a country where moſt ſtrangers were prohibited, and where " it was a crime to have *abandoned the tombs of their anceſtors*, " and gaining, at length, eſtabliſhments neceſſary for the pro- " pagation of their faith, without turning their influence to any " perſonal advantage."

Moſt of thoſe, however, who were eſtabliſhed in Pekin, to the ſpiritual conſolation of having laboured in the vineyard of the goſpel not altogether in vain (for they do ſometimes gain a proſelyte) add the ſubſtantial ſatisfaction of not having neglected their worldly concerns. Beſides the emoluments ariſing from their ſeveral communities, they have ſhops and houſes in the capital, which they rent to Chineſe. They have alſo their country villas and eſtates, where they cultivate the vine and other

other fruits, and make their own wine. The revenues of the two Portugueſe ſeminaries are ſtated to amount to twelve thouſand ounces of ſilver, or four thouſand pounds a year. The miſſion *de propaganda fide* is poor. The French Jeſuits were once rich; but their property was diſſipated on the diſſolution of their ſociety. The French *miſſions étrangères* drew on their ſuperiors at Paris before the revolution, but ſince that event are reduced to a moſt deplorable ſituation. And it ſeemed to me, from what I could perceive at *Yuen-min-yuen*, that they were not much diſpoſed to aſſiſt one another. Each nation had its ſeparate intereſt, and they were not willing to loſe any opportunity of calumniating their fellow-labourers. The French and Italians were the moſt moderate and liberal; the Portugueſe the moſt inveterate. The miſſionaries of this nation appeared to be inſpired with a jealouſy and hatred, more than theological, againſt the reſt. It is ſaid indeed that their rich poſſeſſions, and the high ſituations they unworthily hold in the board of mathematics, render them jealous of all other Europeans; and they uſe every means of excluding them from the country.

From the frequent diſſenſions, indeed, among the different orders, and their perpetual broils, originated the perſecutions which they and their proſelytes ſuffered in China. The moſt violent of theſe diſputes was carried on between the Jeſuits and the Dominicans. The Jeſuits endeavoured to aſſimilate their doctrines and their opinions to thoſe of the Chineſe, at leaſt as far as they conſcientiouſly could venture to do, in conformity to the nature of their miſſion; by which means, together with their apparently diſintereſted conduct, they ſoon collected

a numerous ſet of followers, half Chriſtians and half Pagans. Unluckily for the cauſe of Chriſtianity, a different ſect of the ſame religion, but with principles more auſtere and of courſe leſs tolerant of others that deviated from their own, ſpeedily followed the Jeſuits into the Eaſt. The Dominicans, meeting with ſome of the half-chriſtianized converts, ſoon gave them to underſtand that nothing leſs than eternal damnation would be the lot of all ſuch as did not forſake their ancient ſuperſtitions and idolatrous practices; and eſpecially that of ſacrificing to their deceaſed relations in the Hall of Anceſtors. The Franciſcans having joined the Dominicans they repreſented to the Pope the abominable practices of the Jeſuits, who had perſuaded the Chineſe they were come among them for the ſole purpoſe of reſtoring their ancient religion to its original purity, as delivered by their Great Philoſopher Confucius. The Pope, upon this, ſent over a bull, interdicting all the miſſionaries in China from admitting any extraneous ceremonies or idolatrous worſhip, to be blended with thoſe of Holy Catholic Church.

The Jeſuits, however, by their ſuperior talents, having made themſelves uſeful at court, and obtained the notice and protection of *Caung-Shee* the ruling monarch, and the greateſt perhaps that ever filled the throne of China, treated this bull with contempt, and continued to make converts in their own way. They even obtained from the Emperor a ſum of money and a grant of land, towards building a church in Pekin. And they further managed their affairs ſo well as to procure, from the ſucceeding Pope, a diſpenſation in favour of their mode of proceeding to convert the Chineſe to Chriſtianity. The Domini-

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cans and Franciſcans, piqued beyond meaſure at the ſucceſs of the Jeſuits, repreſented them to the Pope, in the ſtrongeſt terms, as the greateſt enemies to the Chriſtian faith. The Jeſuits, in their turn, tranſmitted to Rome a manifeſto, ſigned by the Emperor himſelf, atteſting that the ceremonies of homage to the dead, retained by the Chineſe Chriſtians, were not of a religious but a civil nature, agreeable to the long eſtabliſhed laws of the empire, which could not, on any conſideration, be diſpenſed with. In ſhort, their diſputes and quarrels ran ſo high, and proceeded to ſuch lengths; and Bulls and Embaſſadors were ſent from Rome, with ſuch imperious and threatening commands for the Chineſe Chriſtians to deſiſt from all ceremonies that were not warranted by the catholic church, that the Emperor began to think it was high time to interpoſe his authority, and to interdict the Chriſtian religion from being preached at all in his dominions. And his ſon and ſucceſſor *Yung chin* commenced his reign with violent perſecutions againſt the miſſionaries. He ordered many of them immediately out of the empire; others were thrown into priſon *, where they lingered out

* In the year 1785, Kien Long liberated, by a public edict, twelve miſſionaries out of priſon, who, being detected in privately ſeducing the Chineſe from the religion and cuſtoms of the country, had been condemned to perpetual impriſonment. This edict, of which I procured a copy in Pekin, does great honour to the humane and benevolent mind of the Emperor. After ſtating their crime, apprehenſion, and trial, he obſerves, "Had they made known their arrival to the officers of "government, they might have proceeded to the capital and found protection. "But as tranſgreſſors of the law, which forbids the entrance of ſtrangers, they have "ſtolen into the country, and ſecretly endeavoured to multiply converts to their "way of thinking, it became my duty to oppoſe a conduct ſo deceitful, and to put "a ſtop to the progreſs of ſeduction. Juſtly as they were found to deſerve the "puniſhment to which they have been condemned, touched, nevertheleſs, with "compaſſion

out a miſerable life; and ſome were put to death by the bow-ſtring. Thoſe few, who were found neceſſary to aſſiſt in the aſtronomical part of the calendar, he allowed to remain in the capital.

Notwithſtanding the perſecutions that, in every reign, have been violently carried on againſt them by the officers of government in the ſeveral provinces, numbers of new miſſionaries have continued, from time to time, to ſteal into the country. At Macao we found two young miſſionaries, who had been waiting there a long time, in vain, for an opportunity of getting privately into the country. They accuſed the Portugueſe of throwing every obſtacle in their way, while pretending to afford them aſſiſtance; but, on application to the Britiſh Embaſſador, he found no difficulty in procuring them leave to proceed to the capital; and as one of theſe gentlemen had been a pupil of the celebrated La Lande, his ſervices may probably ſuperſede thoſe of the right reverend biſhop who at preſent directs the aſtronomical part of the important national almanack.

From the ſhort view that has here been taken of the different people who, at various times, have gained admiſſion into China, and ſome of them for no other purpoſe than that of

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" compaſſion for their imprudence, it was not without injury to my feelings that I rati-
" fied the ſentence. But recollecting afterwards that they were ſtrangers—ſtrangers
" perhaps ignorant of the laws of my empire, my compaſſion increaſed for them,
" and humanity ſuffers on account of their long confinement. I will, therefore,
" and command that theſe twelve ſtrangers be ſet at liberty."

diſſeminating

diſſeminating their religious tenets, it may be concluded, that the primitive worſhip of the country has experienced many changes and innovations, eſpecially ſince the maſs of the people, from the nature of the language, the maxims of the government, and other circumſtances, have always been kept in a ſtate of profound ignorance. Jews, Chriſtians, Indians, and Mahomedans, have ſeverally met with encouragement. The Jeſuits had but one obſtacle to overcome, the law that directed offerings to be made to deceaſed relations, and by giving way to this, which they were inclined to do had they not been thwarted by the more rigorous Dominicans, they might have converted the whole nation and Chriſtianity would have become, in all probability, the prevailing religion, inſtead of that introduced from India. The paraphernalia and almoſt all the mummeries of the Romiſh church, the bells, the beads, the altars, the images, the candles, the dreſs, and the ſanctimonious deportment of the prieſts in the hours of devotion, their chaunting and their incenſe, were already made familiar to the people in every temple of *Fo*. But, as Lord Macartney has obſerved, "the prohibition or reſtriction of ſenſual gratifications in a deſpotic country, where there are ſo few others, is "difficult to be reliſhed. Confeſſion is repugnant to the cloſe "and ſuſpicious character of the nation, and penance would "but aggravate the miſery of him whoſe inheritance is his "labour, and poverty his puniſhment. Againſt it alſo is the "ſtate of ſociety in China, which excludes women from their "proper ſhare of influence and importance. A religion which "requires that women ſhould at ſtated times communicate to "prieſts, in private, their thoughts and actions, muſt be parti-

" cularly diſguſting to a Chineſe huſband, who had not him-
" ſelf been ſuffered to ſee his wife till the day of his marriage;
" and who but ſeldom allows her afterwards to ſee even her
" near relations of another ſex. A religion like that of Ma-
" homet can only be extended by violence and terror; for the
" natural ſtubbornneſs of men does not readily give way to
" novel impreſſions; but the mild ſpirit of the goſpel is alone
" to be infuſed through the means of gentleneſs, perſuaſion,
" and imperceptible perſeverance. Theſe are the proper inſtru-
" ments of converſion, and peculiarly belong to the fair ſex,
" whoſe eloquence, on ſuch occaſions, gives charms to devo-
" tion and ornaments to truth. The earlieſt ſtages of Chriſ-
" tianity received no ſmall ſupport from female agency and
" example; and for what ſhew of religion ſtill appears in *our*
" churches, we are ſurely not a little indebted to the piety and
" attendance of women." Nothing, in fact, more tended to alarm the Chineſe than the imprudent practice of the Romiſh miſſionaries of ſeducing the Chineſe women to their churches whom, as they avow in their correſpondence, they ſometimes coaxed out of their jewels and money; adding, by way of juſtification, that it was to promote the ſervice of God.

The primitive religion of China or, at leaſt, thoſe opinions, rites, and ceremonies that prevailed in the time of Confucius, (and before that period all ſeems to be fable and uncertainty) may be pretty nearly aſcertained from the writings that are aſcribed to that philoſopher. He maintains in his phyſics, that " out of nothing there cannot poſſibly be produced any
" thing;—that material bodies muſt have exiſted from all eter-
" nity;

" nity;—that the *cauſe* (*lee*, *reaſon*) or principle of things, muſt " have had a co-exiſtence with the things themſelves;—that, " therefore, this cauſe is alſo eternal, infinite, indeſtructible, " without limits, omnipotent and omnipreſent;—that the cen- " tral point of influence (*ſtrength*) from whence this cauſe prin- " cipally acts, is the blue firmament (*tien*) from whence its " emanations ſpread over the whole univerſe;—that it is, " therefore, the ſupreme duty of the prince, in the name of " his ſubjects, to preſent offerings to *tien*, and particularly at the " equinoxes, the one for obtaining a propitious ſeed-time, and " the other a plentiful harveſt."

Theſe offerings to the Deity, it may be obſerved, were always placed on a large ſtone, or heap of ſtones, erected on the ſummit of a high mountain, on the ſuppoſition, probably, that their influence would be ſo much the greater, in proportion as they ſhould approach the ſeat and fountain of creative power; like the ancient Perſians who, according to Herodotus, conſidered the whole circle of the Heavens to be the great ruling power of the univerſe, to which they alſo ſacrificed on high mountains. Thus Tacitus, in ſpeaking of the practice of worſhiping the gods on high mountains, obſerves, that the nearer mortals can approach the heavens, the more diſtinctly will their prayers be heard; and on the ſame principle, Seneca ſays, that the people always ſtrove for the ſeat next to the image of the deity in the temples, that their prayers might be the better heard. Thus alſo Noah, after quitting the ark, built an altar on the mountain where it reſted, and made a burnt-offering, whoſe ſmoke aſcending to heaven was pleaſing to the Lord.

And Abraham was commanded to offer his only ſon Iſaac on a mountain in the land of Moria; and Balak carried Balaam to the top of Mount Piſgah to offer a ſacrifice there, and to curſe Iſrael. Thus, indeed, all nations in their infancy adopted the natural idea of paying adoration to Heaven from high places.

The large ſtones, or the heaps of ſtones, that have been appropriated for religious uſes at different times, in almoſt every part of the world, might have been introduced, as Lord Kames ſuppoſes, from the cuſtom among ſavage nations to mark with a great ſtone the place where their worthies were interred; that ſuch worthies being at length deified, in the ſuperſtitious notions of their votaries, the ſtones that were dedicated to their memory became eſſential in every act of religious worſhip performed in honour of their new deities. The very particular homage, that for time immemorial has been paid to the memory of the dead by the Chineſe, renders the above explanation extremely probable as to the origin of their altar of four ſtones which in their language are called *Tan*, and which in former times were erected on moſt of their high mountains; and it is ſingular enough that, at the preſent day, the *tan* ſhould be repreſented, upon many of the altars erected in their temples, by four looſe ſtones placed on the four corners of the altar, as the horns were in the corners of the Jewiſh altars. When population increaſed, and the people were ſpread wide over the empire, the inconvenience of aſcending any particular mountain muſt neceſſarily be felt, and the *tan* was then transferred to places that were better ſuited for general accommodation. The ſame idea indeed is ſtill retained in our

churches, the *altar* and *high place* being ſynonimous words. In the city of Pekin, which ſtands on a ſandy plain, the *tien-tan*, or altar of Heaven; the *tee-tan* or altar of earth; and the *ſien-nong-tan* or altar of ancient agriculturiſts, are erected upon artificial mounts within the walls of the palace; and here the Emperor continues, to this day, to ſacrifice at appointed times, excluſively, as the ſon of Heaven, and the only being on earth worthy to intercede for his people. The ſame doctrine prevailed in the time of Confucius, who obſerves, that the diſtance between the all-creative power, or cauſe of all things, and the people is ſo immeaſurably great, that the king or ruler, as high prieſt, can alone offer ſuch a ſacrifice; and that this power is beſt ſatisfied when man performs the moral duties of life; the principal of which he makes to conſiſt in filial piety, and unlimited obedience to the will of the prince.

His religious notions and morals do him great credit, but his metaphyſics are ſo obſcure as not to be intelligible which, however, may partly be owing to the nature of the language. In his writings appears a ſtrong predilection for a kind of fortune-telling, or predicting events by the myſtical lines of *Fo-ſhee*. By the help of theſe lines, and the prevailing element at the commencement of the reign of a prince, he pretended to foretel the events that would take place and the length of its continuance; but, at the ſame time, he was cautious enough to wrap them up in ſuch ambiguous and myſterious expreſſions that, like moſt prophecies of the kind, they might admit of a variety of interpretations. This manner of expounding the lines of Fo-ſhee by Confucius, the ſuppoſed ſyſtem of binary arithmetic

arithmetic by Leibnitz, laid the foundation of conſulting future deſtiny, at this day univerſally ſought after by the Chineſe *.

Predeſtination in all ages, and in all nations, has formed one of the leading features of religion; and, in conſideration perhaps of popular opinion, has been foiſted into the articles of the Chriſtian faith, though unwarranted by any paſſage in the holy ſcriptures. It is a doctrine little calculated for the promotion of good morals, and ſtill leſs ſo for conveying ſpiritual conſolation. The Chineſe, however, confine the influence of lots to the events of this life. It would perhaps be doing injuſtice to the underſtanding of Confucius to ſuppoſe, that he really believed in the doctrine of fatality. Being prime miniſter of one of the kings of China, it was neceſſary for him to act the politician as

* The government even grants licences to certain perſons, under the abuſed name of aſtronomers, who pretend to predict events, and caſt out evil ſpirits by a charm, conſiſting of ſome character written by them, according to the ſuppoſed prevailing planet. The national almanack, not leſs minute in its predictions than thoſe of Francis Moore or Vincent Wing, or even Partridge, points out the changes of the weather in every month, with the lucky and unlucky days for undertaking moſt of the important concerns of life. And that the fallacy of theſe is not detected, may afford leſs matter for ſurprize, on recollection that, in the wiſe and enlightened countries of Europe, and among very intelligent people, the ſtate of the weather is pretended to be predicted by the phaſes of the moon; that is to ſay, they will prognoſticate a change of weather to happen at the new moon, or the firſt quarter, or the full, or the laſt quarter, or, at all events, three days before, or three days after one or other of theſe periods; ſo that the predictor has, at the leaſt, eight-and-twenty days out of a lunar revolution, in favour of his prediction being right, and the whole lunation is only twenty-nine and a half. He has alſo another great advantage: the accidental coincidence of one ſingle prophecy with the event, eſtabliſhes his fame for ever, whilſt his blunders are either overlooked, or conſidered only as thoſe of the perſon, and not the defect of the ſcience.

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well as the philoſopher; and he could not fail to know, that the ſuperſtitions of the people were among the beſt ſupports of the government. He might have been aware of the folly and abſurdity of ſuch a doctrine, and yet found it prudent to enforce the obſervance of it; juſt as the Greeks thought proper to continue their *Lots*. Theſe, inſtead of ſticks, as uſed by the Chineſe, were three ſtones that, according to ſome, were firſt diſcovered and preſented to Pallas by the nymphs, the daughters of Jupiter, who rejected an offering that rather belonged to Apollo, and threw them away;—an excellent moral, obſerves Doctor Tytler, the learned tranſlator of the hymns and epigrams of Callimachus, ſhewing that thoſe perſons who are guided by Pallas, or Wiſdom, will improve the preſent time, without being too anxious to pry into futurity. The Greek poet, however, like the Chineſe philoſopher, aſcribed to the poſſeſſor of the Lots, the talent of reading future deſtiny.

"By him the ſure events of Lots are given;
"By him the prophet ſpeaks the will of Heaven." TYTLER.

The Romans had alſo their lots to determine future events, which were a kind of wooden dice, and their prieſts examined the marks and interpreted the ſignification of the throw. And the ancient Germans, according to Tacitus, made uſe of little ſticks, notched at the ends which, like the Chineſe, they threw three times in caſe they did not approve of the firſt throw. Herodotus traces the cuſtom of predicting future events to the ancient Egyptians, and ſeems to think the Greeks had it from them. But is not the deſire of prying into futu-

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rity to be aſcribed rather to a weakneſs in human nature, than as a cuſtom borrowed by one nation from another? Are we entirely free from it in modern Europe? However humiliating the reflection may be, yet it is certainly true, that men of the ſtrongeſt minds and ſoundeſt judgments have ſometimes, towards the cloſe of an uſeful life, devoted their time to the expoſition of old prophecies without meaning, or applicable only to events that were already in train to be accompliſhed when the prediction was made. Among many others, the great *Napier*, the inventor of logarithms, might be produced as an inſtance of this remark. From the Apocalypſe of Saint John he predicted the day of judgment; but his calculations in this inſtance not being founded on *data* equally ſolid with thoſe on which he conſtructed his tables, he unfortunately ſurvived the day he had named to bluſh at his own weakneſs.

Other parts of the doctrine of Confucius were well calculated to keep alive the ſuperſtitious notions that ſtill prevail among the multitude. He taught them to believe that the human body was compoſed of two principles, the one light, inviſible, and aſcending; the other groſs, palpable, and deſcending; that the ſeparation of theſe two principles cauſe the death of man; that at this awful period the light and ſpiritual part of the human body aſcends into the air, whilſt the groſs and corporeal matter ſinks into the earth. The word *death*, in fact, never enters into the philoſophy of Confucius; nor, indeed, on common occaſions is it employed by the Chineſe at the preſent day. When a perſon departs this life, the common expreſſion is, *he has returned to his family*. And although the body reſolves

ſolves itſelf in the courſe of time into its primitive elements, and becomes a part of the univerſe; yet, he contended, the ſpirits of ſuch as had performed their duty in life were permitted to viſit their ancient habitations, or ſuch places as might be appointed for receiving the homage of their deſcendants, on whom they had the power of conferring benefactions. On this ground it became the indiſpenſable duty of every good man to obſerve a ſtrict obedience of the performance of ſacred rites in the temple conſecrated to the memory of anceſtors. He maintained that all ſuch as neglected this great branch of moral duty would be puniſhed for their neglect, after death, by their ſpiritual part being deprived of the privilege of viſiting the hall of anceſtors; and, conſequently, of the pleaſure ariſing from the homage beſtowed by their deſcendants. Such a ſyſtem could not fail to eſtabliſh a belief in good and evil genii, and of tutelar ſpirits preſiding over families, towns, cities, houſes, mountains, and other particular places. It afterwards required no great ſtretch of the imagination to give to theſe " airy nothings " a local habitation and a name."

It does not appear, however, that either Confucius or any of his diſciples attached the leaſt idea of a *perſonal being* to the deity; nor does it ſeem ever to have entered into their minds to repreſent the *great firſt cauſe* under any image or perſonification. They conſidered the ſun, moon, ſtars and the elements, with the azure firmament, as the creative and productive powers, the immediate agents of the Deity and inſeparably connected with him, and they offered adoration to theſe agents, united in one word *Tien* (Heaven). It cannot be ſuppoſed, after what

has already been obſerved in the ſixth chapter, that I ſhould lay any ſtreſs on the ſimilarity of words in different languages, or on the analogy of their ſignification, in order to prove a common origin; but if the conjecture of the learned Bos be right, that Θεος may be derived from Θειν to move forward, in alluſion to the motion of the heavenly bodies which the ancient Greeks, as well as the Perſians, worſhipped, *tien* certainly comes very near the Greek both in ſound and ſignification; nearer it could not come in ſound, as the Chineſe by no effort could pronounce the Θ *th*. The word *tien* not only ſignifies *heaven*, but a revolution of the heavenly bodies, and is in common uſe both in writing and converſation for *day*, as *ye*, *ul*, *ſan tien*, one, two, three days.

The Confucioniſts, like the Stoics, ſeem to have conſidered the whole univerſe as one animated ſyſtem, made up of one material ſubſtance and one ſpirit, of which every living thing was an emanation, and to which, when ſeparated by death from the material part it had animated, every living thing again returned. In a word, their conceptions of the Deity might be ſummed up in thoſe two beautiful and expreſſive lines of Pope,

> "All are but parts of one ſtupendous whole,
> "Whoſe body nature is, and God the ſoul."

But that which is moſt ſurprizing is, that the enthuſiaſtic followers of Confucius have never erected any ſtatue to his memory, nor paid him divine honours as erroneouſly has been ſuppoſed. In every city is a public building, a kind of college, wherein

wherein examinations are held for degrees of office, and this building is called the houſe of Confucius. Here, on certain appointed days, the men of letters aſſemble to pay reſpect to the memory of their eſteemed philoſopher. In the great hall appropriated for this ceremony a plain tablet is erected, on which is painted an inſcription, in gilt characters, to this effect: "O *Cong-foo-tſe*, our revered maſter, let thy ſpiritual part "deſcend and be pleaſed with this our reſpect which we now "humbly offer to thee!" Fruit and wine, flowers, perfumes and other articles are then placed before the tablet, during which are alſo burning various kinds of ſcented gums, frankincenſe, tapers of ſandal wood and gilt paper. This ceremony, which in every reſpect is the ſame to that which he taught as an obſervance towards the manes of departed relations, they are perſuaded is agreeable to the inviſible ſpirits of thoſe to whom it is offered, who delight in hovering over the grateful odour of flowers, of fruit, and the ſmoke of incenſe. Thus, in like manner, did the Romans on their birth-days offer flowers and fruit and wine, and burn incenſe to inviſible ſpirits, whom they called the *genii*,

"Funde merum genio."
"Fill a glaſs to Genius."

But the prieſts, who, in all ages and in moſt nations, have been crafty enough to turn to their own account the credulity and ſuperſtitions of the people, having once eſtabliſhed as a religious duty the offering of ſweet-ſmelling herbs and other perfumes, found little difficulty in perſuading the multitude,

that the tutelar ſpirits could eat as well as ſmell, and that ſacrifices and meat-offerings would be acceptable to the gods. The prieſts of China loſt no time in introducing ſacrifices, even of living creatures, and offerings of corn and rice and wine and precious metals upon their altars, not however to that extent which was practiſed in the temples of Greece and Rome, whoſe gods were the moſt mercenary of all nations, being rarely induced to grant a favour without a fee. Nor in modern days have the monks and prieſts of the Catholic faith been backward in this reſpect particularly in ſanctioning the doctrine of *compoſition for ſins*, for the abſolution of which the rate was not even fixed in proportion to the magnitude; and what is ſtill more aſtoniſhing, this impious practice of bargaining with the Almighty has ſurvived the dark ages, and exiſts to a certain degree at this moment.

The moral and religious opinions of Confucius were, in fact, too ſublime and too metaphyſical to preſerve their purity among a people ſo unprepared, as his countrymen were, to receive and cheriſh them. The attention of the multitude would ſeem, indeed, in all nations to require being fixed on ſomething groſs and material. How difficult was it for the prieſt and the leader of the Jews, to reſtrain their people from practices of idolatry. In the ſhort abſence even of Moſes on Mount Sinai, they made for themſelves a molten calf of gold as an object of divine worſhip, in imitation, probably, of what they had beheld in the temples of Egypt. The inviſible god made little impreſſion on their groſs and untutored underſtandings. Nor was Numa more ſucceſsful than Moſes or Confucius, in his attempt to eſta-

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bliſh among the people the worſhip of an ideal or mental object of adoration. Thus alſo it happened with the Chineſe. The ſublime conceptions of their great philoſopher, too refined indeed for untutored human nature, they could not comprehend. They required ſome viſible object on which they might fix their attention. It was not enough merely to imagine that the ſpirits of men, who had done their duty in this life, were permitted to haunt the places where their bodies were interred, or where their ſurviving friends ſhould aſſemble to do them honour: it was neceſſary to give them a form and ſubſtance. In the ſame manner was the purity of the Chriſtian religion contaminated by the multitude of images that were invented in the monkiſh ages, when every city, town, and church, and even individuals, provided they could pay for them, had their particular patron, or tutelar ſaint.

Like the temples of Confucius, thoſe of the ancient Egyptians are ſuppoſed to have been entirely free from ſtatues; and Herodotus ſeems to be of opinion, that Heſiod and Homer were the firſt who introduced the genealogy of the gods among the Greeks; impoſed names upon each, aſſigned their functions and their honours, and clothed them in their ſeveral forms. And we learn from Silius Italicus, that the ancient temple of Hercules at Gades had no viſible type of the Deity.

" Sed nulla effigies, ſimulacrave nota deorum,
" Majeſtate locum, et ſacro implevere timore."

" No ſtatues of the gods appear within,
" Nor images; but rev'rend horror round,
" And gloom majeſtic guard the ſacred ground."

TYTLER's MS.

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The miſſionaries in their writings have endeavoured to impreſs the world with an idea that the Chineſe, and particularly the Confucioniſts, are atheiſts; that they diſbelieve in a future ſtate of exiſtence; and that they are the victims of a ſenſeleſs ſuperſtition. Nothing can be more unjuſt than ſuch an accuſation. Could *Caung-ſhee* be an atheiſt, when he inſcribed with his own hands the Jeſuit church in Pekin,

" To the only true principle of all things," &c.

And can a people be juſtly accuſed of a diſbelief in a ſtate of future exiſtence, when the whole nation, of what ſect ſoever, preſents its offerings at ſtated ſeaſons to the *ſpirits* of its departed anceſtors? Does the ejaculation, " Let thy ſpiritual part " deſcend and be pleaſed with this our reſpect which we now " humbly offer to thee!" convey any ſuch ſuppoſition? And of all others, the miſſionaries ought to have been the laſt to accuſe the Chineſe of ſenſeleſs ſuperſtitions. Surely it is not more repugnant to reaſon, nor leſs conſonant with human feelings, to offer grateful gifts to the manes of deceaſed parents and friends, than to fall down before the Virgin Mary and the thouſand ſaints whom caprice or cabal have foiſted into their calendar, and of whoſe hiſtory and actions even their votaries are totally ignorant? Chineſe ſuperſtition, in this reſpect is, to ſay the worſt of it, an amiable weakneſs. If the ſuppoſition be allowed that beings who have departed this life may poſſeſs an influence over remaining mortals, it is ſurely more natural to addreſs thoſe whoſe care and kindneſs had already been felt, than thoſe of whom we have no further knowledge than the name. There is perhaps no ſtronger incentive to virtuous actions,

actions, nor a more effectual check againſt vicious purſuits, than the idea that the departed ſpirit of a beloved parent may continue to watch over and direct our conduct. The Chineſe, at all events, are not illiberal in their ſuperſtitions: they made not the leaſt difficulty in allowing the corpſe of one of our artiſts, who died at *Tong-tchoo*, though a Chriſtian and conſequently in their opinion a heretic, to be depoſited in the midſt of their public burying ground. With as little reaſon does an angry miſſionary complain of the dreſſes and ceremonies of their prieſts, as they certainly borrowed nothing from the Catholics, who, on their part, are much indebted to the heathen Greeks for a great part of the paraphernalia of their own religion. "There "is no country," ſays he, "where the devil has ſo ſucceſs- "fully counterfeited the true worſhip of the holy church. "Theſe prieſts of the infernal ſpirit wear long looſe gowns, "exactly reſembling thoſe of ſome of the fathers of the church; "they live in temples like ſo many monaſteries, and they chaunt "in the ſame manner as with us."

Another religion, much better calculated to gain popularity, ſprung up about the time of, or very ſhortly after, the death of Confucius. A man of the name of *Lao-Kung*, having travelled into Thibet, became in part acquainted with the worſhip of the prieſts of Lama, which he thought would ſuit his countrymen, and might alſo be the means of raiſing his own reputation. He accordingly eſtabliſhed a ſect, under the name of *Tao-tze*, or "Sons of immortals." He maintained, like Epicurus, that to live at his eaſe and to make himſelf happy were the chief concerns of man: that, to ſeize the preſent moment,

regardleſs of the paſt and of that to come, was the buſineſs of life,

" Carpe diem, quàm minimum credula poſtero."

" —— Swift the fleeting pleaſure ſeize,
" Nor truſt to-morrow's doubtful light."

But as ills would come, and diſeaſe and death ſeemed to be the common lot of mankind, the beverage of immortal life was a glorious idea to hold out to mortal man. In fact, immortality was one of the attributes of the *Delai Lama*, who is ſuppoſed never to die; the ſoul of the reigning Lama paſſing immediately into the perſon of his ſucceſſor. This doctrine, a branch of the Metempſycoſis, was converted by *Lao-Kung* into the art of producing a renovation of the faculties in the ſame body, by the means of certain preparations taken from the three kingdoms of nature. The infatuated people flew with avidity to the fountain of life. Princes even ſought after the draughts that ſhould render them immortal, but which, in fact, brought on premature death. Numerous inſtances are ſaid to be on record, wherein the eunuchs have prevailed on the ſovereign to ſwallow the immortal liquor which ſeldom failed to diſpatch him. Father Trigault, who was in Pekin when the Tartars took poſſeſſion of it, ſpeaking of the propenſity of the upper claſſes for the beverage of life, obſerves, " Even in this city, " there are few of the magiſtrates or eunuchs or others in " office free from this inſanity; and as there are plenty who " wiſh to learn the ſecret, there is no want of profeſſors." This ſeems to be the only ſpecies of alchemy to which the Jeſuits have ſaid the Chineſe are addicted. The preparation of the liquor

liquor of life is their philoſopher's ſtone; and, in all probability, is compoſed of opium and other drugs which, by encreaſing the ſtimulus, gives a momentary exhilaration to the ſpirits; and the ſucceeding languor requiring another and another draught till at length, the excitability being entirely exhauſted, the patient "puts on immortality."

How much ſoever we may find ourſelves diſpoſed to cenſure the abſurdity of the Chineſe beverage of life, we are not a great way behind them in this reſpect, or the *Perkinſes*, the *Solomons*, the *Velnos*, and the *Brodums*, with an innumerable hoſt of quacks, whoſe indecent advertiſements diſgrace our daily prints, would not derive their ſubſiſtence, much leſs riſe to affluence, by the credulity of Engliſhmen; for many of theſe peſts of ſociety are foreigners, too contemptible in their own country to meet with encouragement. What concluſion would a Chineſe be apt to draw of our national character, if he had only a ſmattering of our language, juſt ſufficient to enable him to read theſe daily effuſions that are forced upon public notice*? And what muſt he think of the reveries of Condorcet, and of his Engliſh diſciples, whoſe monſtrous doctrines (under the abuſed name of philoſophy) would perſuade him that ſleep was a diſeaſe! That

"Sleep, that knits up the ravell'd ſleave of care,
"The death of each day's life, ſore labour's bath,
"Balm of hurt minds, great nature's ſecond courſe,
"Chief nouriſher in life's feaſt"——

* And which, together with their pernicious practices and infamous pamphlets, addreſſed chiefly to youth of both ſexes, it may be added, have done more miſchief than "plague, peſtilence, or famine." Among the numerous ſocieties that have been formed for the amendment of public morals and the ſuppreſſion of vice, it is ſurprizing that no plan has been thought of for the ſuppreſſion of impudent quacks.

was a bodily infirmity, which the *perfectibility of the human mind* (ſo happily commenced by the French ſubverſion) would completely eradicate! Let us not altogether condemn the ignorant, perhaps deſigning, prieſts of *Tao-tſe*, and the ſtill more ignorant multitude, when the ſtrong and enlightened mind of a *Deſcartes* could amuſe itſelf with the fanciful hope of being able to diſcover the ſecret of prolonging the life of man far beyond the uſual limits which ſeem to be aſſigned to the human ſpecies.

Conſiſtent with the principle of "taking no thought for the "morrow," the prieſts of *Lao-kung* devoted themſelves to a ſtate of celibacy, as being more free from cares than the incumbrances which neceſſarily attend a family connexion; and the better to accompliſh this end, they aſſociated in convents. Here they deal out to their votaries the decrees of the oracle agreeably to the rules preſcribed by Confucius; and they practiſe alſo a number of incantations, magic, invocations of ſpirits, and other myſtical rites that are probably as little underſtood by themſelves as by the gazing multitude. In performing theſe magic tricks they march in proceſſion round the altar, on which the ſacred flame is ſuppoſed to be kept perpetually burning, being a compoſition of wax and tallow mixed up with ſandal wood ſhavings and other perfumes; they chaunt in uniſon a kind of recitative, and they bow their heads obſequiouſly every time they paſs before the front of the altar. The great *Gong* is ſtruck at intervals, accompanied by tinkling ſounds emitted by gently ſtriking ſmall metal plates ſuſpended in a frame as in the plate of muſical inſtruments. Their temples are crowded with large and monſtrous figures, ſome made of wood, ſome of ſtone, and others of baked clay daubed over

with paint and varniſh, and ſometimes gilt. To ſuch figures however they do not ſeem to pay any kind of homage. They are intended merely to repreſent the good and evil genii under the various paſſions to which human nature is liable. The good genii, or pleaſing affections, are placed on one ſide of the temple, and their oppoſites on the other. Thus the perſonifications of mirth and melancholy, love and hatred, pleaſure and pain, are contraſted together. The conditions of men are alſo repreſented, and their figures oppoſed to one another. In this light at leaſt they appeared to us; though the prieſt at *Tong-tchoo* informed us they were intended to pourtray the different characters of the monks that had belonged to the monaſtery. In ſome temples alſo are met with the ſtatues of ſuch Emperors or miniſters of ſtate as had ſhewn themſelves favourable to any particular convent. If, for inſtance, a great man ſhould occupy the apartments of a temple and at his departure leave a conſiderable ſum of money, the prieſts, out of gratitude, would place his image in a niche of the temple. In looking into one of theſe edifices a ſtranger would be apt to conclude that they were Polytheiſts, which I do not underſtand to be the caſe. Like the ſaints of the Catholics the great *Fo*, of whom I ſhall preſently ſpeak, with *Poo-ſa*, *Shing-moo*, and many others, are conſidered only in the light of agents and interceſſors, or as emanations of one creating, deſtroying, and renovating power, whoſe good providence has divided itſelf into a number of attributes for the better government of the univerſe *.

Next

* Thus among the inſcriptions written over the doors of Temples, ſome are dedicated

To the Holy Mother, Queen of Heaven; the Goddeſs of peace and power, deſcended from the iſland of MOUI-TAO, *who ſtills the waves of the ſea, allays ſtorms, protects the empire.*

Next to this religion of the immortals, was introduced another of nearly the ſame growth which, from being patronized by the court, ſoon became no leſs popular than the former. The prieſts of *Fo*, coming by invitation from India, imported with them a great portion of the Hindu mythology, which ſome learned men have ſuppoſed to be the origin from whence the Polytheiſm of Egypt and Greece had its ſource; and others the direct contrary. Be that as it may, the affinity ſeems to be too ſtrong not to aſcribe them to a common parent; and the repreſentations and the hiſtories of many of the gods of theſe nations were imported, in all probability, with the religion of *Fo*, from India into China. This will better appear by comparing a few as they are obſerved in the different nations.

The *Budha* of the Hindus was the ſon of *Ma ya*, and one of his epithets is *Amita:* the *Fo* of China was the ſon of *Mo-ya*, and one of his epithets is *Om-e-to*; and, in Japan, whoſe natives are of Chineſe origin, the ſame god *Fo* is worſhipped under the name of *Amida*. I could neither collect from any of the Chineſe what the literal meaning was of *Om-e-to*, nor could I decypher the characters under which it is written, but it appeared to be uſed as a common ejaculation on moſt occaſions, juſt as we Europeans are too apt to make a familiar and impious uſe of the name of God. Perhaps it might not ſeem inconſiſtent in conſidering it to be derived from the Hindu myſtic word *Om*.

Another has

The ancient temple of the goddeſs (Kin-wha) of the golden flower, through whoſe influence fields are green and fertile like a grove of trees; and benefits are diffuſed as the frothy wave of the ſea, that ſhines like ſplendid pearls.

Since

Since the acceſſion of the Tartar princes to the throne of China, the court religion, or at leaſt the Tartar part of the court, which before adhered to the tenets of Confucius, has been that of *Fo* or *Budha*. The prieſts are numerous, moſtly dreſſed in yellow gowns, live in a ſtate of celibacy in large convents or temples, which the Chineſe call *Poo-ta-la*, evidently derived from *Budha-laya*, or habitation of *Budha*, this name being adopted by the Tartars, which the Chineſe have been under the neceſſity of following as nearly as their organs of ſpeech would admit. They wear a ſort of chapelet round their necks, conſiſting of a number of beads. In ſome of their ceremonies they march, like the *Tao-tſes*, in proceſſion round the altar, counting their beads, repeating at every bead *Om-e-to-fo*, and reſpectfully bowing the head. The whole ſtring being finiſhed, they chalk up a mark, regiſtering in this manner the number of their ejaculations to *Fo*. This counting of their beads was one of the ceremonies that very much exaſperated the miſſionaries.

The *Ganeſa* of the Hindûs, the *Janus* of the Romans, and the *Men-ſhin*, or guardian ſpirit of the door of the Chineſe, are obviouſly one and the ſame deity. Sometimes he is painted with a club in one hand, and a key in the other, repreſenting the protector of the houſe. On almoſt every door in China, where the inhabitants profeſs the religion of *Fo*, is drawn the figure of *Men-ſhin*, or otherwiſe the two characters of this word, agreeing exactly with what Sir William Jones has obſerved of the new town of Gayá in Hindoſtan, " that every " new built houſe, agreeably to an immemorial uſage of the " Hindus, has the name of *Ganeſa* ſuperſcribed on its door: and

" in

" in the old town his image is placed over the gates of the " temples."

The *Viſhnu* of the Hindus, riding on an eagle, and ſome-ſometimes attended by an eagle, has been conſidered as the *Jupiter* of the Greeks; and the *Lui-ſhin* of the Chineſe, or ſpirit of thunder, is figured under a man with the beak and talons of an eagle, ſometimes ſurrounded with kettle drums, carrying in one hand a batoon and in the other a flame of fire. The *Oſiris* of the Egyptians, from whence the Greeks had their *Jupiter*, comes ſtill nearer to the *Lui-ſhin* of the Chineſe. When repreſented as the emblem of the ſun, he was drawn under the figure of a man with an eagle's beak, carrying in his hand a batoon on which was painted an eye. The ingenious and fertile imagination of the Greeks ſeparated the emblem from the god, and made the bird of prey the attendant of the divinity, which the Egyptians and the Chineſe united under one ſymbol. It is a curious coincidence of opinion, if it be not founded on fact, that the Chineſe ſhould aſſign the ſame reaſon for giving an eagle's face to their *Lui-ſhin*, that Pliny has for the conſecration of that bird to *Jupiter*, namely, that no inſtance was ever known of an eagle being deſtroyed by lightning. The Chineſe have alſo an obſervation with regard to this bird, which has been made by other nations, and which is, that the eagle, in a thunder ſtorm, always mounts above the clouds.

The *Varuna* of the Hindus, riding on a fiſh, the *Neptune* of the Greeks, and the Chineſe *Hai-vang*, or king of the ſea, repoſing

repoſing on the waves, with a fiſh in his hand, are unqueſtionably one and the ſame perſonage.

The giant *Briareus*, with his hundred hands, is truly in China of a moſt ſtupendous and coloſſal ſtature, being commonly from fifty to ſixty feet in height, and ſometimes as tall as eighty feet. But the largeſt of all their deities is a woman of the family of *Poo-ſa* *, apparently a perſonification of nature. This goddeſs is modelled in a variety of ways; ſometimes ſhe is to be found with four heads, and forty or fifty arms, the heads looking towards the four cardinal points of the compaſs, and each arm holding ſome natural product of the earth ſubſervient to the uſe of man. Sometimes each arm produces ſeveral ſmaller arms, and on the head ſtands a pyramidal groupe of ſmaller heads. Van Braam mentions his having ſeen a ſtatue of this goddeſs that was ninety feet high, having four heads and forty-four arms. It is no uncommon thing to meet with temples in ruins, in the midſt of which theſe monſtrous gods and goddeſſes are ſeen entire, expoſed to the elements. It ſeems the inferior temples are generally upheld by the voluntary gifts of the people; and that, whenever any unuſual calamity befals a town or village, ſuch as ſevere famine, epidemic diſeaſe, inundations, or the like, whoſe dire effects ceaſe not

* *Poo-ſa* comprehends a claſs of ſuperintending deities inferior to thoſe of *Fo*, who are conſulted on trivial occaſions, and the ordinary affairs of life. Of courſe the greater number of temples are called by the general name of *Poo-ſa miau, temple of Poo-ſa*. The name implies *all-helping*. The character *poo* ſignifies *ſupport*, and *ſa* has the character of *plant* for its root or key united to that of *preſervation*; the *plant-preſerving*, or *plant-ſupporting* deity; from whence it may perhaps be concluded, that *poo-ſa* is the offſpring of the *Holy Mother* of whom I am about to ſpeak.

on repeated applications to the protecting ſaint, by way of puniſhing the gods, they literally pull down the temple over their heads, and leave them ſitting in the open air. This groteſque and barbarous manner of repreſenting the manifold powers of nature, or the goddeſs of nature, by a plurality of heads and hands in one idol, is by no means favourable to the ſuppoſition of a refined or ſuperior underſtanding in the people who adopt them into their religious worſhip. It can be conſidered only as a very ſhort ſtep beyond the conceptions of ſavages, who have no other idea than that of ſupplying by number, or a repetition of the ſame thing, what may be wanting in power. The ſame figure, with numerous arms, appears in the Hindu temples that are excavated out of ſolid granite mountains, the moſt ancient and among the moſt wonderful monuments of art and perſevering labour that have hitherto been diſcovered on the face of the globe, the fountain perhaps from whence the arts, the ſciences, and the religious myſteries of the Egyptians and the Greeks derived their origin.

But the moſt common of all the female deities in China is the *Shing-moo*, or holy mother, or rather the mother of *perfect intelligence* *. This lady is the exact counterpart of the Indian *Ganga* or goddeſs of the river, the *Iſis* of the Egyptians, and the *Ceres* of the Greeks. Nothing ſhocked the miſſionaries ſo much on their firſt arrival in China as the image of this lady, in whom they diſcovered, or thought they diſcovered, the moſt ſtriking reſemblance to the Virgin Mary. They found her ge-

* The character *ſhing* is compounded of *ear*, *mouth*, and *ruler* or *king*, intending perhaps to expreſs *the faculty of knowing all that ear has heard and mouth uttered.*

nerally

nerally ſhut up with great care in a receſs at the back part of the altar, and veiled with a ſilken ſcreen to hide her from common obſervation; ſometimes with a child in her hand, at other times on her knee, and a glory round her head. On hearing the ſtory of the *Shing-moo* they were confirmed in this opinion. They were told that ſhe conceived and bore a ſon while yet a virgin, by eating the flower of the *Lien-wha* (the *Nelumbium*) which ſhe found lying upon her clothes on the bank of a river where ſhe was bathing: that, when the time of her geſtation was expired, ſhe went to the place where ſhe had picked up the flower and was there delivered of a boy; that the infant was found and educated by a poor fiſherman; and, in proceſs of time, became a great man and performed miracles. Such is her ſtory, as told by the Chineſe prieſts. When the image of this goddeſs is ſtanding, ſhe generally holds a flower of the Nelumbium in her hand; and when ſitting, ſhe is uſually placed upon the large peltate leaf of the ſame plant.

The Egyptian Lotos, not that eſculent plant from the uſe of which the *Lotophagi* had their name, but another of a very different genus conſecrated to religious purpoſes, is ſaid* to have been aſcertained from a ſtatue of *Oſiris*, preſerved in the Barberini palace at Rome, to be that ſpecies of water lilly which grows in abundance in moſt parts of the eaſtern world, and which was known to botaniſts under the name of *Nymphæa Nelumbo*; but I underſtand it is now conſidered as a new *genus*, diſtinguiſhed, under a modification of its former ſpecific name, by that

* By Mr. Pauw.

of *Nelumbium*. This plant, however, is no longer to be found in Egypt. The two ſpecies that grow, at preſent, on the banks and canals of the Nile are totally different, which furniſhes a very ſtrong preſumption that, although a ſacred plant and cultivated in the country, it might nevertheleſs be of foreign growth. In China, few temples are without ſome repreſentation of the Nelumbium; ſometimes the *Shing-moo* is painted as ſtanding upon its leaves in the midſt of a lake. In one temple I obſerved the intelligent mother ſitting upon the broad peltate leaf of this plant, which had been hewn out of the living rock. Sometimes ſhe holds in her hand a cornucopia filled with the ears of rice, of millet, and of the capſule or ſeed-veſſel of the Nelumbium, theſe being articles of food which fall to the ſhare of the pooreſt peaſant. This very beautiful water lilly grows ſpontaneouſly in almoſt every lake and moraſs, from the middle of Tartary to the province of Canton; a curious circumſtance, when we conſider the very great difficulty with which it can be preſerved, even by artificial means, in climates of Europe, whoſe temperature are leſs warm and leſs cold than many of thoſe where, in China, it grows in a ſtate of nature, and with the greateſt degree of luxuriance. On the heights of Tartary it is found in an uncultivated ſtate where, in winter, the thermometer frequently ſtands at, and generally far below, the freezing point. But here the roots ſtrike at the bottom of very deep waters only, a circumſtance from which we may perhaps conclude, that the plant may rather require uniformity of temperature, than any extraordinary degree either one way or other. Not only the ſeed of the Nelumbium, which is a kind of nut nearly as large as an acorn, but the long roots, jointed like

canes, furniſh articles of food for the table. In the capital, during the whole ſummer ſeaſon, the latter are ſliced and laid on ice, and in this ſtate ſerve as part of the deſert; the taſte differs very little from that of a good juicy turnip, with a ſlight degree of aſtringency.

There is ſomething ſo very ſtriking and remarkable in this plant, that it is not ſurprizing the Egyptians and the Indians, fond of drawing alluſions from natural objects, ſhould have conſidered it as emblematic of creative power. The leaves of the ſucceeding plant are found involved in the middle of the ſeed, perfect, and of a beautiful green. When the ſun goes down, the large leaves that ſpread themſelves over the ſurface of the water cloſe like an umbrella, and the returning ſun gradually unfolds them. Now, as theſe nations conſidered water to be the primary element, and the firſt medium on which creative influence began to act, a plant of ſuch ſingularity, luxuriance, utility and beauty, could not fail to be regarded by them as a proper ſymbol for repreſenting that creative power, and was accordingly conſecrated by the former to *Oſiris* and to *Iſis*, the emblems of the ſun and moon, and by the latter to *Ganga*, the river goddeſs, and to the ſun. The coincidence of ideas between thoſe two nations, in this reſpect, may be drawn from that beautiful Hindū hymn, addreſſed to Súrya or the ſun, and tranſlated by Sir William Jones—

" Lord of the Lotos, father, friend and king,
" O Sun! thy powers I ſing."—&c.*

Whether

* Captain Turner found the name of the Lotos inſcribed over moſt of the temples in Bootan and Thibet; and Colonel Symes, in the account of his embaſſy to the

Whether the Chineſe, like the Hindus, entertained the ſame notions of creative power, or its influence upon water as the primary element, I could not learn. No information as to the ground-work of their religion is to be looked for from the prieſts of the preſent day, who are generally very ignorant; but I ſuſpect the dedication of the Lotos to ſacred uſes to be much older than the introduction of Hindu mythology by the prieſts of Budha. They even aſcribe the fable of eating the flower to the mother of their firſt Emperor *Foo-ſhee*; and the Lotos and the lady are equally reſpected by all the ſects in China; and even by the Mantchoo Tartars, whoſe hiſtory commences with the identical ſtory of a young virgin conceiving and bearing a ſon, who was to be the progenitor of a race of conquerors, by eating the flower of a water lilly. If, indeed, any dependence is to be placed on the following well known inſcription found on an ancient monument of Oſiris, Egyptian rites may be ſuppoſed to have made their way into the eaſt and probably into China, or, on the other hand, thoſe of the eaſt adopted by the Egyptians, at a period of very remote antiquity. "Saturn, the "youngeſt of all the gods, was my father. I am Oſiris, who "conducted a large and numerous army as far as the deſerts of "India, and travelled over the greateſt part of the world, "&c. &c."

It may not, perhaps, be thought improbable (I offer it, however, merely as conjecture) that the ſtory of *Oſiris* and *Iſis*

kingdom of Ava, which with Pegu, Aracan, and Laos, now conſtitute the Birman empire, deſcribes the people as Budhiſts or of the ſect of Fo; indeed their cuſtoms and appearance, as well as their religion, ſeem to indicate a Chineſe or Tartar origin.

was

was known in China at a very early period of the hiſtory of this country. *Oſiris*, king of Egypt, and huſband of *Iſis*, was worſhipped under the form of an ox, from his having paid particular attention to the purſuits of agriculture, and from employing this animal in the tillage of the ground.

> " Primus aratra manu ſolerti fecit Oſiris."
> Oſiris firſt conſtructed ploughs with dext'rous ſkill.

Hiſtorians ſay, that *Iſis*, on the murder of her huſband, enjoined the prieſts of Egypt, by a ſolemn oath, to eſtabliſh a form of worſhip in which divine honours ſhould be paid to their deceaſed prince; that they ſhould ſelect what kind of animal they pleaſed to repreſent the perſon and the divinity of *Oſiris*, and that they ſhould inter it with ſolemn funeral honours when dead. In conſideration of this apotheoſis, ſhe allotted a portion of land to each ſacerdotal body. The prieſts were obliged to make a vow of chaſtity; their heads were ſhaven and they went barefooted. Divine honours were likewiſe conferred on *Iſis* after her death, and ſhe was worſhipped under the form of a cow.

Now, although the feſtival in China, at which the Emperor holds the plough in the commencement of the ſpring, be conſidered at this day as nothing more than a political inſtitution, and continued as an example to the lower orders of people, an incitement for them to purſue the labours of agriculture as the moſt important employment in the ſtate;—yet, as this condeſcenſion of the ſovereign militates ſo ſtrongly againſt all their maxims of government, which place an immenſe diſtance between

tween him and the firſt of his people, it may not, perhaps, be much amiſs in ſuppoſing it to have originated in ſome religious opinion. Indeed he ſtill continues to prepare himſelf for the ſolemn occaſion, by devoting three days entirely to pious ceremonies and rigid devotion. On the day appointed by the tribunal of mathematics, a *cow* is ſacrificed in the *Tee-tan*, or or temple dedicated to the earth; and on the ſame day, in ſome of the provinces, the figure of a cow of baked clay, of an immenſe ſize, is carried in proceſſion by a number of the peaſantry, followed by the principal officers of government and the other inhabitants. The horns and the hoofs are gilded and ornamented with ſilken ribbons. The proſtrations being made and the offerings placed on the altar, the earthen cow is broken in pieces and diſtributed among the people. In like manner the body of *Oſiris*, worſhipped afterwards under the form of an ox, was diſtributed by *Iſis* among the prieſts; and the *Iſia* * were long celebrated in Egypt in the ſame manner as the feſtival of holding the plough is at this day obſerved in China, both being intended, no doubt, to commemorate the perſons

* No feſtivals, perhaps, were ſo univerſally adopted and ſo far extended, as thoſe in honour of *Iſis*. They not only found their way into every part of the Eaſt, but from Greece they were alſo received by the Romans, and from theſe they paſſed into Gaul. It has even been conjectured, that the modern name of Paris has its derivation from a temple that was dedicated to this goddeſs, παρα ισιν, not very diſtant from this ancient capital of Gaul. The city arms are a ſhip, which *Iſis* was depicted to hold in her hand, as the patroneſs of navigation. In fact, a ſtatue of *Iſis* † is ſaid to have been preſerved with great care in the church of Saint Germain until the beginning of the ſixteenth century, when the zeal of a bigotted cardinal cauſed it to be demoliſhed as an unſanctified relick of pagan ſuperſtition.

† Encyclopedie des Connoiſſances Humaines.

who

who had rendered the moſt ſolid advantages to the ſtate, by the encouragement they had held out for the cultivation of the ground.

The diſputes, quarrels, perſecutions and maſſacres, that have happened at various times among the different ſects of Chriſtianity in Europe, have not been much leſs violent, nor productive of leſs dreadful conſequences, between the ſect of immortals and that of Fo, in China, whenever the court, or rather the intriguing eunuchs, ſeemed to favour the opinions of one ſect in preference to thoſe of the other. Perſecutions never failed to begin whenever either party was fortunate enough to gain over to its ſide the chief of the eunuchs, who had always ſufficient influence with the reigning monarch to prevail upon him to eſpouſe the ſame cauſe. They were, however, wars of prieſts alone in which the people remained neutral, or took no active part. Whole monaſteries have been levelled with the ground, and thouſands of prieſts put to death on both ſides. Since, however, the acceſſion of the preſent Tartar dynaſty, they have met with no particular marks of favour or diſtinction; and, on that account, are apparently reconciled to each other; indeed, they are ſcarcely diſtinguiſhable either by their temples or by their dreſs. The prediction of future events being beſt ſuited to the minds of the multitude, and moſt ſought after, the oracle of fate may be conſulted in any temple, whether of *Fo* or of *Tao-tze*. The government interferes not in religious opinions, and it gives no ſupport to any particular ſect, except that of the Lama, whoſe prieſts are paid and maintained as a part of the Imperial

Imperial eſtabliſhment. The Tartar officers of ſtate are likewiſe attached to the faith of the Lama, without the abſurdities that have been mixed with it by the immortals.

However ſtrictly the women may be kept at home by the cuſtoms of the country, they are nevertheleſs permitted, on certain occaſions, to conſult their deſtiny at the altar, without being expoſed to the cenſure of vulgarity or impropriety. Barren wives are even encouraged to viſit the temples, not ſo much for the purpoſe of knowing their deſtiny, as under a firm belief that, by rubbing the bellies of certain little copper gods, they ſhall conceive and bear children. But, the women in general who, from habit, feel little inclination to ſtir abroad, except on very preſſing occaſions, encourage a ſet of fortune-tellers, mountebanks and jugglers, who thus pick up a livelihood by travelling the country and telling fortunes from houſe to houſe. They are known by a wretched ſqualling flute on which they play, and are beckoned to call where their art is required. By being made acquainted with the day and hour of a perſon's birth, they pretend to *caſt his nativity*, which is called *Swan-ming*, or the art of diſcovering events by means of numbers. A Chineſe, even in the higher ranks, has no great idea of a man's learning, if he be ignorant of the *Swan-ming*. I was very frequently applied to at *Yuen-min-yuen*, by perſons in office, to know if I could tell them their fortune; and it was difficult to perſuade them I had any knowledge of the aſtronomical inſtruments intended for the Emperor, after profeſſing my ignorance in *caſting a nativity*.

The

The prieſts of both ſects are ſuppoſed to be no leſs attentive in keeping up a perpetual fire burning upon the altars than the Roman Veſtals were in this reſpect; but no expiation nor puniſhment being conſidered neceſſary, as in the latter caſe, they cannot boaſt that "flames unextinguiſh'd on their altars "ſhine." They are, in fact, frequently extinguiſhed by careleſſneſs or accident. No virgins attend this holy flame, but the charge of it is committed generally to young boys under training for the prieſthood. Like the Greeks and the Romans, the Chineſe have alſo their penates or houſehold gods, which are not repreſented under any particular perſonification, but generally by a tablet bearing a ſhort inſcription and a taper burning before it. Every ſhip, however ſmall, has its tablet and its taper; and within the compaſs-box or binnacle a taper is continually kept burning.

In every city, town and village, ſometimes in the midſt of woods, in the mountains and moſt lonely places, are ſmall temples, the doors of which are continually left open for the admittance of ſuch as may be deſirous of conſulting their deſtiny. The practical part of Chineſe religion may, in fact, be ſaid to conſiſt in predeſtination. A prieſt is not at all neceſſary for unravelling the book of fate. If any one be about to undertake a journey, or to purchaſe a wife, or to build a houſe, or, above all, to bury a deceaſed relation, and any doubt ſhould ariſe in his mind as to the fortunate reſult of ſuch undertaking, he repairs to the neareſt temple; and, if he ſhould not be able to read himſelf, he takes a friend by the hand who can. On the altar of every temple is placed a wooden cup, filled with a

number of ſmall ſticks, marked at the extremities with certain characters. Taking the cup in his hands he ſhakes it till one of the ſticks falls upon the ground and, having examined the character upon it, he looks for the correſponding mark in a book which is generally appended to the wall of the temple. The lot, in this manner, is caſt ſeveral times, and if one lucky ſtick in three ſhould happen to turn up, he is willing to conſider the omen as favourable; and, if the event ſhould anſwer the expectation he has been led to form from the book of fate, he conſiders it as a duty to return to the temple and to burn a ſheet or two of painted paper, or of paper covered with tin foil, and to depoſit a few pieces of copper money on the altar, in token of gratitude for the favour he has received *. In this

* The preſent Emperor ſhewed his gratitude for his prayers having been heard, by granting in a public edict an additional title to the temple in which they were offered.

IMPERIAL EDICT.

"*The gracious protecting temple of the king of the dragons*, on the mountain of *Yu-chan*, "has on every occaſion of drought proved favourable to our prayers offered up there "for rain, as duly obſerved on our ſacred regiſters. From the ſummer ſolſtice of "the preſent year, a great want of rain has been experienced, on which account we "were induced, on the 17th of this moon, to offer up our prayers and ſacrifices in "perſon at the ſaid temple. During the very ſame day, a fall of ſmall rain or dew "was obſerved, and, on the day following, the country was relieved by frequent "and copious ſhowers. This further proof of efficacy in granting our requeſts, aug-"ments our veneration and, in teſtimony whereof, we direct that the temple of the "propitious divinity ſhall receive an additional title, and be ſtyled on all future oc-"caſions,

"*The gracious in protecting, and efficacious in preſerving, the temple of the king of the "dragons.*

"*Be our will obeyed.*"

Pekin Gazette, 23d day of 5th Moon, of 6th year of Kia-King.

manner

manner is conſumed the greateſt part of the tin that is carried to China by the trading companies of Europe. I have already obſerved that they have no communion of worſhip to offer up, in a public manner, their prayers or thankſgivings.

Formerly it was the cuſtom to bury ſlaves with emperors and princes and ſometimes alſo their concubines alive; but this cruel practice has given way, in modern times, to the more harmleſs one of burning repreſentations of their domeſtics in tin foil, cut into the ſhape of human beings, and of placing their ſtatues in wood or ſtone upon their graves; this ſeems to be the remains of a Scythian or Tartar cuſtom, which, according to Herodotus, was commonly obſerved at the funerals of their ſovereigns, when their horſes, their ſlaves, and their concubines were impaled alive and placed in order round the tyrant's tomb. The laſt remains of a relation are interred with all the honours that the family can afford. I never paſſed between the capital and *Yuen-min-yuen* without obſerving numbers of funeral proceſſions. Thoſe of great officers of ſtate would ſometimes extend for nearly half a mile. The train was uſually arranged in the following order. In front marched a prieſt uncovered, next a group of muſicians with flutes, trumpets, and cymbals; after theſe the male relations of the deceaſed in long white frocks and behind them the chief mourner, ſupported by two friends, whoſe exertions to prevent him from tearing his cheeks and hair appeared to be truly ridiculous. Then followed the coffin, covered by a magnificent canopy and borne generally by four men, ſometimes by eight. After the canopy the female relations proceeded in chairs, or more generally in the

little covered carts, wearing white frocks like the men, their hair diſhevelled, and broad white fillets bound acroſs their foreheads. On approaching a bridge or a temple the proceſſion always halted while the prieſt burned little images of tin foil, or let off a few crackers, upon which the noiſy *gong* and the reſt of the band made a flouriſh.

The famous feaſt of lanterns, when the whole empire is lighted up from one extremity to the other, in every poſſible way that fancy can ſuggeſt, is an ancient religious uſage of which, at the preſent day, they can give no plauſible account. It is juſt poſſible that, among other Egyptian ceremonies, this may be one derived from a common origin with an annual illumination of the ſame kind mentioned by Herodotus; which was generally obſerved, from the cataracts of the Nile to the borders of the Mediterranean, by hanging lamps of different kinds to the ſides of the houſes. On this day the Chineſe not only illuminate their houſes, but they alſo exerciſe their ingenuity in making tranſparencies in the ſhape of different animals, with which they run through the ſtreets by night. The effect when perfectly dark is whimſical enough. Birds, beaſts, fiſhes, and other animals are ſeen darting through the air, and contending with each other; ſome with ſquibs in their mouths, breathing fire, and others with crackers in their tails: ſome ſending out ſky-rockets, others riſing into pyramids of party-coloured fire, and others burſting like a mine with violent exploſions. But the moſt ingenious are thoſe that, Proteus-like, change their ſhape from time to time, and under every form exhibit a different diſplay of fire-works.

I have

I have obſerved, at the beginning of this chapter, that the temples are occaſionally appropriated to the uſe of ſtate-officers, embaſſadors and other public characters, when travelling through the country, there being no other houſes affording accomodations equally ſuitable. On quitting the temple it is generally thought neceſſary to perform an act of reverence bordering on devotion, not however to the Deity, but to the name of the Emperor inſcribed on the altar. This cuſtom, together with that of depoſiting rice and other grain, tea and oil at certain ſeaſons, eſpecially on the day of his nativity, although perhaps, in the firſt inſtance, a token only of reſpect and gratitude, and in the other an acknowledgment of his being the ſole proprietary of the ſoil, are nevertheleſs acts that tend, from the ſanctity of the place where they are performed, to the encouragement of idolatry. By thus aſſociating the offerings made to the Deity and to the Monarch, the vulgar become apt to magnify the power of the latter and to raiſe it on a level with that of the former. A Chineſe in ſpeaking of a propitious event occurring, either in his own or any other country, generally attributes it to the joint Will of Heaven and the Emperor of China.

The converſion of the temples into lodging-houſes is attended with ſome temporal advantages to the prieſts, by the donations that are generally made on ſuch occaſions. Moſt of them being ſupported entirely by voluntary contributions and trifling legacies that may be left by pious perſons, they are thankful for the ſmalleſt gifts: for as there is little or no connection between the church and the ſtate, they derive no pay, nor

emolument, nor preferment from the latter. The Emperor pays his own prieſts, which are thoſe of all his Tartar ſubjects; the Chineſe Confucioniſts, or men of learning, and the ſtate officers contribute to the maintenance of theirs, whether of *Fo* or *Tao-tzé*, and the maſs of the people, from the prevailing propenſity of enquiring into futurity, afford the means of ſupport to many thouſands, I might perhaps ſay millions of prieſts, by the offerings carried to the altars whenever they find it neceſſary tó conſult the book of fate, which is done on moſt of the common occurrences in life.

From the ſhort view I have here taken of the different ſects, I think it may juſtly be concluded that the primitive religion of China no longer exiſts, or exiſts only in a corrupted ſtate; that there is at preſent no national nor ſcarcely a ſtate religion: and that the articles of faith are as various as the modes of worſhip; in all of which the people appear to be rather actuated by the dread of evil in this life, than by the fear of puniſhment in another: that the duties they perform are more with a view to appeaſe an angry deity and to avert impending calamities, than from any hope of obtaining a poſitive good: that they rather conſult or enquire of their gods what may happen, than petition them to accompliſh or avert it; for a Chineſe can ſcarcely be ſaid to pray; he is grateful when the event proves favourable to his wiſhes; petulant and peeviſh with his gods when adverſe.

Little as the prieſts, or the numerous noviciates that are found in all the principal temples, are employed in the duties of

of their office, or in worldly concerns, they are not leſs uncleanly in their perſons and their apartments than thoſe are whoſe time is taken up in providing for the neceſſities of life. The room, in which ſome of us *ſhould* have ſlept, was ſo full of ſcorpions and ſcolopendras, and they crept in ſuch numbers into our beds, that we were fairly driven out and obliged to ſwing our cots in the open air between two trees. Here we were not much leſs annoyed by myriads of muſquitoes and the unceaſing noiſe of the chirping cicadas, which continued without intermiſſion until the ſtill more noiſy *gong* announced the break of day, and ſummoned the holy men to their morning devotions.

CHAP. IX.

Journey from Tong-choo-foo to the Province of Canton.—Face of the Country, and its Productions.—Buildings and other Public Works.—Condition of the People.—State of Agriculture.—Population.

Attentions paid to the Embaſſy.—Obſervations on the Climate and Plains of Pe-tche-lee.—*Plants of.—Diet and Condition of the People.—Burying-place.—Obſervation on Chineſe Cities.—Trackers of the Yachts.—Entrance of the Grand Canal.—The Fiſhing Corvorant.—Approach to the* Yellow-River.—*Ceremony of croſſing this River.—Obſervations on Canals and Roads.—Improvement of the Country in advancing to the Southward.—Beauty of, near* Sau-choo-foo.—*Bridge of ninety-one Arches.—Country near* Hang-choo-foo.—*City of.—Appearance of the Country near the* Po-yang *Lake.—Obſervations in Proceeding through* Kiang-ſee.—*The* Camellia Seſanqua.—*Retroſpective View of the Climate and Produce, Diet and Condition of the People, of* Pe-tche-lee.—*Some Obſervations on the Capital of China.—Province of* Shan-tung.—*Of* Kiang-nan.—*Obſervations on the State of Agriculture in China.—Rice Mills.—Province of* Tche kiang.—*Of* Kiang-ſee.—*Population of China compared with that of England.—Erroneous Opinions entertained on this Subject.—Comparative Population of a City in China and in England.—Famines accounted for.—Means of Prevention.—Cauſes of the Populouſneſs of China.*

ON the 8th of October we embarked, for the ſecond time, on the Pei-ho in yachts, however, that were very different from thoſe on which we had aſcended the river, being much ſmaller but broader in proportion to their length, and ſo ſhallow and flat-

flat-bottomed, that they required little depth of water; yet we found them ſufficiently commodious. Of the neceſſity of ſuch a change in the accommodation yachts, on account of the low ſtate of the river, we were ſpeedily convinced, which, previous to our embarkation, had been by ſome attributed to a different cauſe. It was ſuppoſed that the men in office throughout the country, piqued at the refuſal of the Embaſſador to ſubmit to their degrading ceremony, would not fail to retaliate the affront by depriving us of every little comfort and convenience, and by otherwiſe rendering the long journey before us extremely unpleaſant. The character of the people at large juſtified ſuch a concluſion; and, I believe, every individual had laid his account of meeting with difficulties and diſagreeable occurrences on the journey to Canton. In juſtice, however, to thoſe who had the ſuperintendence of the embaſſy, and particularly to the two moſt worthy characters *Van* and *Chou*, who were more immediately connected with its concerns, it is but fair to obſerve that no attention was wanting, nor expence ſpared, to render our ſituation as eaſy and comfortable as poſſible. Supplies of every kind were ſent on board in the greateſt profuſion and with the moſt ſcrupulous punctuality. And as a ſingular proof of attention ſhewn to us in the commencement of this journey, our conductors, having obſerved that we uſed milk with our tea, had purchaſed two fine cows in full milk, which were put on board a yacht prepared for their reception, for a ſupply of that article. And, it was obſerved, that whenever the chief officers of the provinces, through which the embaſſy was to paſs, prepared an entertainment in honour of the occaſion, they had

given themſelves all poſſible trouble to render it more acceptable, by endeavouring to ſerve it up, as they thought, in the Engliſh ſtyle. In ſome of thoſe feaſts we had hogs roaſted whole, that could not have weighed leſs than fifty pounds; quarters of mutton, geeſe, ducks, and fowls roaſted or boiled whole, a mode of cookery altogether different to the practice of the country, which is chiefly confined to that of ſtewing ſmall morſels of meat with greens or rice. The awkward manner in which they were prepared, being generally burnt and glazed over with oil, was entitled to and found an ample excuſe in the deſire thus teſtified of pleaſing.

From the time that we firſt embarked in Auguſt at the mouth of the Pey-ho, or White River, until our return, we experienced only a ſingle ſhower of rain. It is obſerved, indeed, that during the autumnal months the northern provinces enjoy a cloudleſs ſky; an advantage of which they avail themſelves in thraſhing out the different kinds of grain in the field, thus ſaving the labour of bearing it into barns or piling it into ſtacks. It is either thraſhed out on clay floors with flails, ſimilar to our own, beat out of the ear againſt the edge of a plank, or trodden by oxen or buffalos. The grain that we had noticed juſt ſtriking into the ear, on aſcending the river, was now generally reaped. It conſiſted principally of the different ſpecies of millet, as before obſerved, and a ſmall proportion of the *polygonum fagopyrum* or buck-wheat. A ſpecies of *dolichos* or bean, that had been ſown between the drills of the Holcus, or tall millet, was now in flower.

The

The range of Fahrenheit's thermometer in the province of *Pe-tche-lee*, during the month of Auguſt, was from 80° to 88° in the middle of the day, and during the night it remained generally about 60° to 64°. In September, the medium temperature at two o'clock was about 76°; and in October about 63°; but in the latter month, it decreaſed in the night ſometimes to 44°.

In the neighbourhood of the *Pei-ho* a light ſandy ſoil chiefly prevails, with a mixture of argillaceous earth and ſlimy matter, interſperſed with ſhining particles of mica: but not a ſtone of any magnitude, nor pebbles, nor even gravel occur in the whole extent of country through which this river is navigable. The ſurface, indeed, is ſo flat and uniform, that the tide, which riſes only nine or ten feet in the gulph of *Pe-tche-lee*, flows to the diſtance of thirty miles beyond *Tien-ſing*, or one hundred and ten miles from the mouth of the river; and it frequently ſubmerges the whole country, notwithſtanding the great pains beſtowed by the inhabitants in raiſing and keeping in order artificial banks. Such inundations, although frequently the cauſes of great fertility, are ſometimes productive of general calamity, eſpecially if they happen at a ſeaſon when the crop is too far advanced. Theſe plains exhibit the appearance of a more than ordinary incroachment of the land upon the ſea. The general level of the face of the country, at high water, is not more elevated than two feet above the ſurface of the river, of which not only the bed, but alſo the ſubſtratum of the encloſing banks, are compoſed entirely of fine ſand ſimilar to that on the ſhore of the ſea. The deepeſt part of the

wide gulph of *Pe-tche-lee* exceeds not twelve fathoms, and the prodigious number of ſmall ſandy iſlands, juſt appearing above the ſurface, are ſaid to have been created within the records of hiſtory. A great portion of the enormous maſs of mud that is perpetually wafted down the Yellow River, and which was found by experiment to exceed two million ſolid feet in an hour, is borne by a ſtrong current from the Yellow Sea into the gulph of *Pe-tche-lee*, where the ſtillneſs of the water allows it to ſubſide. In the map of Marco Polo, which was moſt probably copied by him from one in the poſſeſſion of Gengis-khan, or ſome of the learned men about his court, *Tien-ſing* is placed upon the ſea coaſt; and a branch of the Yellow River, after traverſing the provinces *Kiang-nan*, *Shang-tung*, and part of *Pe-tche-lee*, in the direction nearly of the preſent canal, diſcharges itſelf into the gulph near the *Pei-ho*. Were this branch of the river actually turned, the rapidity with which the gulph of *Pe-tche-lee* is filling up is the leſs ſurpriſing, as the only ſtream to keep its waters in motion at preſent is the *Pei-ho*. It has been calculated that, by the ſimple turning of the great river that falls from Winandermere-lake, the eſtuary of Morecombe Bay, which it now croſſes, would, in the natural courſe of events, be converted in a few years into a green meadow. If the above-mentioned chart be correct, it would prove alſo that the Mongul Tartars did actually firſt bring the grand navigation of China to the ſtate in which it now appears.

This uniform plain of China afforded little intereſt to the traveller. Few trees appeared, except now and then a clump of firs ſurrounding a temple, or the plantations contiguous to

the dwelling of ſome officer of government. In ſuch ſituations were alſo large elms, willows, and a ſpecies of aſh unknown in Europe. There were no hedge-rows. Property here is divided only by narrow ditches, ſerving at the ſame time for drains, or by ridges of unploughed ground, as in the common fields of England, which anſwer the purpoſe of foot-paths. Theſe ridges were generally well covered with that family of running trefoil, known by the name of *Melilotos*, intermixed with a ſpecies of *Poa* or meadow graſs, *Avena* or wild oats, and *Briza* or quaking graſs. In the ditches, beſide the common reed the *Arundo phragmites*, were growing two ſpecies of *Cyperus*, and a *Scirpus* or club-ruſh. None of the artificial graſſes, uſually ſo called, are cultivated by the Chineſe. It is not an object with them to fodder their cows for the ſake of obtaining a greater quantity of milk, this nutritive article of food being very ſparingly uſed either in its raw ſtate or in any preparation; and they are either ignorant of the proceſſes of converting it into butter and cheeſe, or, for certain reaſons, prefer to employ the little they make uſe of in its original ſtate. Horſes are rarely kept for luxury or for labour; and the few animals employed in agriculture, which are moſtly aſſes, mules, or buffalos, ſubſiſt in the winter ſeaſon on chaff and ſtraw; and their chief ſupport in the ſummer is derived from the ſtrong graſſes that grow in the ditches and the common reed, with which, in this part of the country, large tracts of ſwampy ground are covered.

On approaching *Tien-ſing*, we obſerved ſeveral large fields cultivated with a vegetable called by the Chineſe the *Pe-tſai*, or white herb, apparently a ſpecies of *Braſſica* or cole; though inſipid

inſipid in its taſte, being not unlike that of the cos-lettuce, it is held in preference to all other vegetables; and the capital is moſt abundantly ſupplied with it in the ſummer ſeaſon freſh from the gardens in its vicinity and, in the winter, ſalted and prepared ſomewhat in the ſame manner as the *Sour-Krout* of the Germans. We obſerved alſo in the gardens, carrots, turnips, black radiſhes, a ſpecies of aſparagus, the *Solanum Melongena*, a ſpecies of *phyſalis* or winter-cherry, water-melons and muſk-melons, pumpkins and cucumbers. Onions and garlic were common vegetables planted near every peaſant's houſe. The *Trapa* or water-caltrops grew in the ditches, the nuts of which, with the ſeeds and the roots of the nelumbium, generally furniſhed out our deſert; to which, indeed, ſometimes were added tolerably good peaches, dry ſpongy apples not unlike quinces in appearance, and pears of an immenſe ſize but of a harſh and auſtere taſte.

However unfavorable the country might be for an extended cultivation, which did not appear to be the caſe, the proximity to the capital would have led one to expect a correſponding population. Nothing of the kind appeared; the vaſt numbers we had obſerved in aſcending the river were drawn from the diſtance of many miles out of mere curioſity; the inhabitants only of the vicinity now ſhewed themſelves; and we were rather ſurprized at the fewneſs of theſe, as well as at the very ruinous and miſerable condition of almoſt all the cottages. Theſe mean huts were built, ſome of half-burnt bricks and others of clay, and they were thatched with the ſtraw of grain or with reeds. Some were encloſed within walls of mud, or with a kind of courſe

courſe matting made of reeds, or the ſtalks of the *holcus ſorghum*, which encloſure generally contained the families of two or three generations, the cattle, pigs, poultry, and all the living creatures belonging to the eſtabliſhment. The Chineſe have a common ſaying, that "although there be poverty without "Pekin, there is plenty within its walls." The appearance, indeed, of all the peaſantry in this province was marked with every indication of poverty; nor was the condition much better of thoſe who were employed about the veſſels which carried the Embaſſador and his train. With the greateſt thankfulneſs they received the offals of our allowance; and the tea-leaves, which we had uſed, were ſought after by them with avidity and boiled up for their beverage. A little boiled rice, or millet, with a few vegetables, commonly the *Pe-tſai*, and onions fried in oil, conſtituted their principal meals, of which they made only two regular ones in the day, one about ten o'clock in the morning, and the other at four or five in the afternoon. They generally however had the frying-pan on the fire at three or four o'clock in the morning. The wine or liquor, which we received in large jars, and which was ſo miſerably bad as not to be uſed, afforded a great treat to the poor people, whoſe circumſtances ſeldom allowed them to taſte it. This liquor is brewed from a mixture of rice and millet, and from its quickly turning ſour ſeems to have little ſtrength, and to have undergone a very imperfect degree of fermentation. Their *hot wine* is ſeldom uſed except by the upper claſs of people who, not ſatisfied with the ſtrong empyreumatic flavour communicated in the diſtillation, drink it boiling hot in the midſt of ſummer.

At

At *Tien-Sing* our principal conductor *Sun-ta-gin* had prepared for us a ſumptuous entertainment, conſiſting of excellent mutton, pork, veniſon, and poultry of all kinds, a great variety of confectionary, of fruits then in ſeaſon, peaches, plumbs, grapes, cheſnuts, walnuts, and water-caltrops. We very ſoon found indeed that we were treated with more ſtudied attention, with a more marked diſtinction, and with leſs conſtraint, than when we aſcended the river. Our dignified conductor made no difficulty in allowing us to walk on ſhore as much as we pleaſed; but recommended us not to quit the banks of the river for fear of retarding the yachts or of being left behind. He hinted to us, at the ſame time, that the officers *Van* and *Chou* would be reſponſible at court for any accident that might happen to us, ſo long as we were under the protection of the Emperor.

In paſſing *Tien-Sing* we found conſiderable difficulty in getting our fleet through the immenſe crowds of ſhipping of every deſcription that were collected there to remain for the winter; among which were about five hundred of the Emperor's revenue veſſels with grain for the capital. The *Eu-ho*, or precious river, called alſo the *Yun-leang-ho*, or river upon which grain is tranſported, falling from the weſtward, forms, at the head of this city, a confluence with the *Pei-ho*. Our barges were at leaſt four hours in getting through the multitude of veſſels that were moored, for their winter-quarters, in this ſmall river; which, however, is rendered important by its communication with the grand artificial canal.

Having

Having paſſed the fleet of ſhipping and the ſuburbs, a plain extending beyond the reach of ſight opened out on the left of the river, upon which were obſerved many thouſands of ſmall ſandy tumuli, of a conical form, reſembling thoſe hillocks which in myriads are thrown up on the continent of Africa by the *Termites*, or white ants. In ſeveral parts of this plain were ſmall buildings, in the form of dwelling-houſes, but not exceeding four or five feet in height; in other places were circular, ſemicircular, and ſquare encloſures of ſtonework, and here and there were interſperſed ſmall pillars of ſtone or brick and other erections of every variety of form. This was the firſt common burying-ground that we had obſerved, except a very ſmall one at *Tong-tchoo;* and the tumuli and the different erections marked out the manſions of the dead. In many parts of this extenſive encloſure we met with maſſy coffins lying upon the ſurface, ſome new, others newly painted, but none in a mouldering ſtate. It was explained to us, by our interpreter, that ſome of theſe coffins had been depoſited there, until the proper advice ſhould be obtained from the prieſt or the oracle conſulted, or from caſting lots, as to the moſt propitious place of interment, and the moſt favourable day for performing the obſequies; ſome were placed there till the pecuniary circumſtances of the ſurviving relatives would enable them to beſtow a ſuitable interment, and others were left to dry and moulder, to a certain degree, in order to be burnt and the aſhes collected and put into ſtone jars or other receptacles*. On no occaſion do

* From a paſſage in the manuſcript journal of a Chineſe who accompanied the Dutch embaſſy it would appear, that the art of embalming the dead was once known

do the Chineſe bury their dead within the precincts of a city or town, much leſs within the walls of their temples; but always depoſit them at a proper diſtance from the dwellings of the living, in which reſpect they have more diſcretion than the Europeans; who not only allow the interment of dead bodies in the midſt of their populous cities, but have thruſt them alſo into places of public worſhip, where crowded congregations are conſtantly expoſed to the nauſeous effluvia, and perhaps infection, ariſing from putrid carcaſes. Yet ſo tenacious are the people of the privilege of interment within the walls of the church, in ſome countries of Europe, that any attempt to diſcontinue the imprudent cuſtom would be attended with ſome degree of danger, as happened to the late Grand Duke of Tuſcany who, having built a commodious and ſpacious cemetery without the city of Florence, to which it was intended to remove the coffins out of the vaults of the church, had nearly raiſed a rebellion among his ſubjects. In *Render*'s tour through Germany, an inſtance is given of the fatal effects of burying in churches, the relation of which makes one ſhudder with horror.

The bank of the river, being one of the encloſing fences to the burying-ground, was ornamented with beautiful weeping willows which, with a few ſolitary cypreſſes interſperſed among

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known and practiſed in this country. He obſerves, that at *Ou-tchi* there is a temple or pagoda inhabited by a number of prieſts, who ſhew the body of a very ancient bonze, prepared in ſuch a manner, and filled with ſuch ingredients, that it does not decay, but remains perfectly entire. He is dreſſed in his robes of ceremony, and in his hand he holds a machine which was invented by him for cleaning rice.

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the tombs, were the only trees that appeared in this part of the country.

In a corner of the cemetery was a temple, built after the uſual plan, with an altar in the center; and a number of deities moulded in clay were ranged on each ſide on ſtone pedeſtals. We obſerved no prieſts; but an elderly lady was very buſily employed in throwing the ſticks of fate, in order to obtain a lucky number in which, however, ſhe failed. During the operation of ſhaking the cup, her countenance betrayed a greater degree of eagerneſs and anxiety than uſually appears on the face of a Chineſe; and ſhe left the temple in a peeviſh and muttering tone, ſufficiently expreſſive of the greatneſs of her diſappointment which, it ſeemed, was no leſs than a refuſal, on the part of the oracle, to hold out the hope of her being bleſſed with a ſecond huſband. Till this circumſtance had been explained to us by the keeper of the temple, it was concluded that the old lady had been muttering imprecations againſt us for diſturbing her in the midſt of her devotions.

After two days' ſail from *Tien-ſing* we arrived at a city of the third order* called *Tchien-ſhien*. The ſurface of the interjacent country had continued the ſame uniform plain, without a pebble in the ſoil: the extent of cultivation by no means extraordinary; and the few ſcattered villages of mean houſes indicated

* For the convenience of collecting and diſtributing the taxes raiſed in kind, the diſtricts, and cities within them, are divided into three claſſes, diſtinguiſhed by the adjuncts *foo, tchoo, ſhien*. The *ſhien* is anſwerable to the *tchoo*; the *tchoo* to the *foo*; and the *foo* to the board of revenue in the capital.

no great degree of population; the dwellings that floated on the water were numerous and crowded with inhabitants. We obſerved ſeveral plots of young wheat riſing in drills a few inches above the ground. Buck-wheat was in full flower and ſeveral plantations of the cotton plant, *goſſypium herbaceum*, were in pod, ſome of them perfectly ripe. Fahrenheit's thermometer on the 14th, 15th, and 16th of this month ſtood at 52° and 53° in the morning, and about 70° in the middle of the day.

On the 17th, beſide a great number of towns, villages and military poſts, which are regularly placed at intervals of about three miles, we paſſed two cities of the third order, one of which, from the length of its walls, appeared to be of very conſiderable importance. No true idea, however, can be formed of the population and magnitude of a Chineſe city by the extent of its encloſing walls. Few are without large patches of unoccupied ground within them which, in many inſtances, far exceeds the quantity of land that is built upon. Even in that part of the capital called the Chineſe city, ſeveral hundred acres are under cultivation. The Imperial city, containing the palace and buildings for the officers of ſtate, the eunuchs and artificers, occupies very nearly a ſquare mile, more than two-thirds of which is a kind of park and pleaſure grounds; and under the north wall of the Tartar city there is a pond or ſwamp covered almoſt with the Nelumbium, which appeared to be fully twice the dimenſions of Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, or four times their ſpace, namely near fifty acres. Such ſpaces of unoccupied ground might perhaps have been reſerved for the uſe of the inhabitants in caſe of ſiege, as the means of ſupply-

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ing a few vegetables of the pungent kind, as onions and garlic, for the beſieged, which are the more neceſſary for a people who uſe ſo ſmall a portion of animal food, and little or no milk. Thus the cities of Babylon and Nineveh, which were ſo frequently expoſed to the calamities of war and ſiege, had gardens and corn-lands within their walls.

On the 18th we paſſed two cities and a great number of towns and villages. The face of the country ſtill level and entirely open; not a hedge-row appearing on any ſide and very few trees. Almoſt all the veſſels that we met in the courſe of the day were laden with ſacks of cotton wool. This being the night of full moon, we were allowed to enjoy very little reſt. The obſervance of the uſual ceremonies, which conſiſt of firing their ſmall petards, beating at intervals the noiſy gong, harſh ſqualling muſic and fire-works, required that our veſſels ſhould remain ſtationary, and theſe nocturnal orgies ceaſed only with the appearance of the ſun. There was, however, another cauſe of detention at this place. In ſailing againſt the ſtream of the *Eu-ho*, it was neceſſary the barges ſhould be tracked by men and theſe men were to be preſſed or forced into this laborious ſervice from the villages bordering upon the river. The uſual way of doing this was to ſend out the ſoldiers or attendants of the officers before the veſſels, in the duſk of the evening, to take the poor wretches by ſurprize in their beds. But the ceremony of the full moon, by retarding their uſual hour of retiring to reſt, had put them on their guard; and, on the approach of the emiſſaries of government, all that were liable to be preſſed into this ſervice had abſconded,

abſconded, ſo that, in addition to the noiſe of the gongs and the trumpets and crackers, our ears were frequently aſſailed by the cries and lamentations of perſons under the puniſhment of the bamboo or the whip, for claiming their exemption from joining the yachts and acting as trackers. When the groupe that had been collected for this purpoſe was brought together in the morning, it was impoſſible not to regard it with an eye of pity. Moſt of them conſiſted of infirm and decrepit old men, and the reſt were ſuch lank, ſickly-looking, ill-clothed creatures, that the whole groupe appeared to be much fitter for an hoſpital than for performing any kind of labour. Our companions pretended to ſay that every farmer, who rented lands upon the public rivers or canals, was obliged, by the tenure on which he held his leaſe, to furniſh ſuch a number of men to track the veſſels in the ſervice of government whenever it might be required; but that, on the preſent being an extraordinary occaſion, they had reſolved to pay them, as they called it, in a handſome manner, which was at the rate of ſomething leſs than ſeven-pence a-day, without any allowance for returning to their homes; a price for labour which bore no ſort of proportion to that of the neceſſaries of life; and it was even doubtful if this pittance was ever paid to them.

Having cleared the fleet of ſhipping that was aſſembled at this place, a favourable breeze relieved our invalids and rendered their ſlender exertions unneceſſary for the greater part of the day, in the courſe of which we entered the province of *Shan-tung*. In this province nothing worthy of notice occurred until the 22d, when we quitted the *Eu-ho* and turning towards the

the ſouth entered the grand canal, out of which we obſerved a gentle current flowing into the river. At this point of junction the pagoda of *Lin-tſin*, an octagonal pyramid, was erected, perhaps as a monument of this great and uſeful undertaking, which, however, in its preſent ſtate, apparently had not ſtood many ages. In the hope of finding within it ſome inſcription, that might point out its deſignation, we mounted with ſome difficulty upon the firſt of its nine ſtages or roofs (for the little door on a level with the ground was walled up with bricks) but it contained only the bare walls, not even a ſtair-caſe remained nor any poſſible means of aſcending to the top, and the lower part was choaked up with rubbiſh. Theſe pagodas (or as the Chineſe name them *Ta*) that ſo frequently occur in the country, ſeem to be intended only as embelliſhments to particular grounds, or objects to terminate viſtas or proſpects. Sometimes, it is true, they appear as appendages to temples, but are never appropriated for the purpoſes of ſacred worſhip. Whatever their intention might have been, it ſhould ſeem the rage of building them no longer exiſts, not one of a late erection having appeared in the whole country, and more than two-thirds of thoſe we ſaw being in ruins.

At the junction of the canal with the *Ea-ho* there was no lock nor flood-gate; the gentle current of the former was interrupted only from place to place, by looſe planks let down in grooves cut in ſtone piers. Theſe dams ſeldom occaſioned the difference of a foot in the level of the water; and at each was a guard-houſe with double the uſual number of ſoldiers ſtationed, to aſſiſt in drawing up or letting down the planks, as

as occaſion might require. The canal, which at the commencement was from ſixty to one hundred feet in width, was contracted at ſuch places by the ſtone piers of the flood-gates to about thirty feet.

Towards the evening of the 23d, as we approached the city *Tong-tchang-foo*, we were much amuſed with a military manœuvre, which was evidently intended to aſtoniſh us. Under the walls of this city about three hundred ſoldiers were drawn out in a line, which, however, the darkneſs of the night had rendered inviſible. But juſt as we were coming to anchor, each ſoldier, at the ſound of the gong, produced from under his cloak a ſplendid lantern with which he went through a regular manual exerciſe. The following morning we obſerved, for the firſt time, a few hillocks breaking the line of the horizon to the eaſtward. The country appeared to be in a tolerable ſtate of cultivation; but the mode of tillage exhibited no extraordinary degree of ſkill or of labour. Villages of conſiderable extent were erected along the banks of the canal, at intervals of about three miles from each other; and, in the gardens contiguous to theſe, grew in abundance the tobacco plant whoſe leaves were ſmall, hairy, and viſcous, and the flowers of which were of a greeniſh yellow paſſing into a faint roſe colour at the edges of the petals. We obſerved alſo ſmall patches of hemp. A greater uſe is made of the ſeeds and leaflets of this plant, as a ſubſtitute for or to mix with tobacco, than of its fibres for cloth, a purpoſe to which it is as rarely converted by the Chineſe as by the Hindoos, being little eſteemed for thoſe valuable uſes to which, ſince its introduction into Europe,

rope, it has been applied. The number of lateral branches, which in a warm climate each ſtem throws out cloſe above the ſurface of the ground, breaks the length of fibre and renders it unfit for thoſe purpoſes for which, in the northern regions of Europe, its tall branchleſs ſtem is ſo well adapted. The ſow thiſtle, a plant that occurs in almoſt every part of the world, was nothing different here from its uſual habit in Europe. We obſerved alſo a ſpecies of *Chenopodium* and of *Artemeſia* or wormwood; abundance of the *Pe-tſai*, and other common culinary vegetables. In the ſmall flower gardens, without which we ſcarcely obſerved a ſingle cottage, were balſams, ſeveral kinds of beautiful aſters, holy-hocks, two ſpecies of *Malva*, an *Amaranthus*, and the ſhowy and handſome ſhrub the *Nerium Oleander*.

Having paſſed on the 26th October the walls of the city *Tſie-ning*, where a multitude of ſmall craft were lying at anchor, we came to an extenſive lake of the ſame name, navigated by a great number of ſailing boats. From the eaſt ſide of this lake the canal was ſeparated only by an immenſe mound of earth. To the weſtward the whole country, beyond the reach of ſight, was one continued ſwamp or moraſs, upon which were interſperſed pools or ponds of water abounding with the nelumbium, at this time in full flower. The moraſs being ſeveral feet below the ſurface of the water in the canal afforded the means of regulating the quantity; and, accordingly, at certain diſtances, we obſerved ſtone arches turned in the earthen embankment to let off the ſuperfluous water that might be occaſioned by the ſwelling of the feeding rivers. About this place

alſo, it was remarked, that the bed of the canal was carried in a line ſo nearly horizontal, that the water had a gentle current either to the northward or the ſouthward, according as theſe ſluices were kept ſhut or thrown open; this line being aſcertained, perhaps, rather by the ſurface of the lake than by the aſſiſtance of inſtruments; for it was ſufficiently remarkable, that no opportunity had been omitted in carrying this great work along the ſide, or through the middle, of lakes or other pools of water wherever it could be done.

The nature of the country admitted of ſuch management for three days' journey, or about eighty miles from *Tſie-ning*. The whole of this extenſive plain conſiſted in lakes or ſwampy ground half covered with water. On the former were conſtantly ſeen moving about veſſels with ſails and boats of every deſcription, conveying an animated picture of activity, induſtry, and commerce. Almoſt all the lakes were ſtudded with iſlands and theſe were covered with villages, that were chiefly inhabited by fiſhermen. Here, for the firſt time, we obſerved the *Leu-tzé* or fiſhing corvorant, the *Pelicanus Sinenſis*, diving after the finny tribe and ſeemingly no leſs anxious than its maſter to take them. This bird is ſo like another ſpecies of the pelican, called the *Carbo* or common corvorant which in England, as naturaliſts inform us, was formerly trained for fiſhing, that it has uſually been conſidered the ſame, but from ſeveral ſpecimens brought home with us it appears to be a different ſpecies. The uſual practice is to take ten or twelve of theſe birds, in the morning when faſting, upon a raft of bamboo poles laſhed together, and to let one or two at moſt at a time dive for fiſh, which

which are taken from them the moment they bring them to the ſurface. Theſe birds, not much larger than the common duck, will ſeize and gripe faſt fiſhes that are not leſs than their own weight. When the proprietor judges the firſt pair to be pretty well fatigued, they are ſuffered to feed by way of encouragement on ſome of the fiſh they have taken, and a ſecond pair are diſpatched upon the water. The fiſh we obſerved them to take was a ſpecies of perch. In the courſe of three days' navigation, we ſaw ſeveral thouſand boats and rafts employed in this kind of fiſhing.

Except on the water and the iſlands, the whole of the ſwampy country might be ſaid to be uninhabited and totally void of any kind of cultivation. Sometimes, indeed, a few miſerable mud huts appeared on the ſmall hillocks that here and there raiſed their heads out of the dreary waſte of moraſs; but the chief inhabitants were cranes, herons, guillemots and a vaſt variety of other kinds of birds that frequent the waters and ſwamps. Here too are great numbers of that ſingular and beautiful bird, the *Anas Galericulata*, uſually known by the name of the *Mandarin duck* which, like the gold and ſilver fiſhes, is caught and reared as an article of ſale to the opulent and curious. The great extent of water had a ſenſible effect on the temperature of the air, eſpecially in the mornings and evenings, when Fahrenheit's thermometer was ſometimes below 40°.

Having paſſed the lakes and ſwamps, we entered ſuddenly, on the 31ſt, upon a moſt delightful part of the country, crowded with temples and villages and towns and cities, near all of

which, and on every part of the canal, were vaſt numbers of the revenue veſſels, collecting the ſurplus taxes paid in kind, in order to tranſport them to the capital. Wheat and cotton appeared to be the two principal articles of culture. The ſurface of the country was now broken into hill and dale, every inch appeared to be under tillage, except the ſummit of the knolls, which were generally crowned with foreſt trees, and few of the detached houſes or temples were without extenſive gardens and orchards. Apples, pears, plums, peaches, apricots and pomgranates, were the common kinds of fruit, and the culinary vegetables were the ſame as thoſe of *Pe-tche-lee*. The canal at this place is, perhaps, the grandeſt inland navigation in the whole world, being nearly a thouſand feet in width and bordered on each ſide by ſtone quays, built with maſſy blocks of grey marble mixed with others of granite; and this immenſe aqueduct, although forced up ſeveral feet above the ſurface of the country by embankments thrown up by the labour of man, flowed with a current of three miles an hour nearly towards the Yellow River, to which we perceived we were faſt approaching, by the buſtle and activity both on ſhore and on the numberleſs canals that branched out in every direction from the main trunk; on whoſe banks, for ſeveral miles on either ſide, one continued town extended to the point of junction with this large river, celebrated in every period of the Chineſe hiſtory. A village was particularly pointed out by the bargemen, whoſe name was derived from a miracle, which is moſt ſacredly believed by the Chineſe. Tradition ſays, that the famous aſtronomer *Heu* was carried up to Heaven in his

houſe, which ſtood at this place, leaving behind him an old faithful ſervant who, being thus deprived of his maſter and his habitation, was reduced to beggary; but happening by accident to throw a little prepared rice into the ground, it immediately grew and produced grain without chaff for his ſuſtenance; from whence the place is called *Sen-mee, rice growing ready dreſſed*, to this day.

Before our barges launched into the ſtream of the Yellow River, which rolled in a very rapid torrent, certain ceremonies were conceived to be indiſpenſably neceſſary. In the practical part of religion (which indeed may be conſidered as nearly the whole) a Chineſe is not leſs ſolicitous to avert a poſſible evil, than to procure an eventual good; and of all evils perſonal danger is moſt apprehended. It was therefore deemed expedient, that an oblation ſhould be made in every veſſel of the fleet to the genius of the river. The animals that were ſacrificed, on this occaſion, were different in different yachts, but they generally conſiſted of a fowl or a pig, two animals that were very common in Grecian ſacrifices. The blood, with the feathers and the hair, was daubed upon the principal parts of the veſſel. On the forecaſtle of ſome were placed cups of wine, oil and ſalt; in others, tea, flour and ſalt; and in others, oil, rice and ſalt. The laſt article appears to be thought by the Chineſe, as well as by the Hebrews, a neceſſary accompaniment to every ſacrifice. "Every oblation of thy meat-offer-"ing ſhalt thou ſeaſon with ſalt: neither ſhalt thou ſuffer the "ſalt of the Covenant of thy God to be lacking from thy *meat*-"offering." As, however, the high prieſt and his friends were

were to feaſt on thoſe parts of the meat-offering, which were conſidered as unworthy the acceptance of heaven, which parts, by the way, were always the beſt of the victim, one might, perhaps, aſſign a reaſon for the ſtrong injunction of offering ſalt, this being a ſcarce article in many countries of the Eaſt and the beſt preſervative of meat againſt putrefaction *.

The cups, the ſlaughtered animal and ſeveral made-diſhes remained on the forecaſtle, the Captain ſtanding over them on one ſide and a man with a gong in his hand on the other. On approaching the rapid part of the ſtream, at the ſignal given by the gong, the Captain took up the cups one by one, in order that, like the Greeks of old, he might "perform the rites and "pour the ruddy wine;" which he did by throwing their contents over the bow of the veſſel into the river. The libation performed, a quantity of crackers and ſquibs and gilt tin foil were burnt, with uplifted hands, whilſt the deep-ſounding gong was inceſſantly ſtruck with increaſing violence as the veſſels were ſwept along with the current. The victim and the other diſhes were then removed for the uſe of the Captain and crew, and the ceremony ended by three genuflexions and as many proſtrations. The Emperor is never ſatisfied with leſs than nine.

* The *Far et mica ſalis* were parts of moſt of the Roman ſacrifices, and ſalt, in particular, was held in ſuch veneration, and in ſuch general uſe, that when any one obtained a ſalary or penſion, he was ſaid to have got his *Salarium*, or ſomething to procure his ſalt, in the ſame ſenſe, as we ſay, to get one's bread; and a common expreſſion in India, denoting ſervice, is, *I eat the ſalt of ſuch a one*; and the Dutch in ſpeaking of a dependent ſay, *he owes his ſalt to ſuch a one*. Theſe coincidences of opinion, or cuſtom, among remote nations, however difficult they may be to explain, are nevertheleſs extremely intereſting and are on that account here noticed.

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Our fleet conſiſted of about thirty ſail, and from each veſſel there proceeded, on its launching into the ſtream, ſuch a din of gongs and crackers and ſuch volumes of ſmoke from the burnt offerings, that the deity of the river muſt have been in a very ſurly humour if he was not pleaſed with ſuch a multitude of oblations. The ſafe arrival, on the oppoſite bank, of the whole ſquadron was a proof of his having accepted the homage, and accordingly he was again addreſſed in a volley of crackers as a token of thanks for his propitious and friendly aid.

The width of the river at this place was full three quarters of a mile; and the ſtream, where ſtrongeſt, ran with the rapidity of ſeven or eight miles an hour; and the water was as thick and muddy as if the heavieſt torrents of rain had juſt deſcended, whereas, in fact, there had not fallen a ſhower for many months.

The length of that part of the canal which lies between the *Eu-bo* and the Yellow River, and which we had now ſailed over, is about two hundred Engliſh miles. The natural ſlope of the country being from North to South, the projectors of this work ſeem to have fixed upon the middle point, or nearly ſo, between theſe two rivers for the commencement of their operations: ſo that from this middle point to the northward, or riſing part of the country, they have been under the neceſſity, in order to preſerve their level, of cutting down to the depth of thirty, forty, and even to ſeventy feet, below the ſurface; whilſt from the ſame point to the ſouthward, or deſcending part of the country, they have been obliged to force up the water

water between immenſe banks of earth and ſtone, far above the level of the flat ſurface; conſiſting almoſt entirely of lakes, ſwamps, and moraſs. The quantity of human labour that muſt have been employed, in amaſſing together the different materials that compoſe this immenſe aqueduct, could not have been ſupplied, in any reaſonable length of time, except in a country where millions could be ſet to work at the nod of a deſpot. The greateſt works in China have always been, and ſtill continue to be, performed by the accumulation of manual labour, without the aſſiſtance of machinery, except on very particular occaſions, where ſome mechanical power may be abſolutely neceſſary to be brought in aid of human ſtrength. Thus, where canals are carried over ſurfaces that are too hilly and uneven to admit of one continued level, they deſcend from place to place, as it were by ſteps, at each of which is an inclined plane; the height from the upper canal to the lower being generally from ſix to ten feet; and the angle of the plane from forty-five to fifty degrees. All veſſels navigating ſuch canals muſt be hoiſted up theſe planes by the aſſiſtance of upright capſtans, without which it would ſcarcely be poſſible to get thoſe of large demenſions, together with their cargo, out of one canal into the other; and they are gently lowered in the ſame manner. This awkward contrivance may, perhaps, leſs imply the ignorance of locks or other methods practiſed elſewhere, than the unwillingneſs of the government to ſuffer any innovation that might be the means of depriving many thouſands of obtaining that ſcanty ſubſiſtence, which they now derive fr m their attendance at theſe capſtans. However ſlig tly ſuch a notion may be held in Europe, there can be no doubt that a general introduction

duction of machinery into China, for the purpoſe of facilitating and expediting labour would, in the preſent ſtate of the country, be attended with the moſt pernicious and diſtreſſing conſequences; were it only for this ſimple reaſon that, deſpiſing, as they affect to do, all foreign commerce, the demand for the products of machinery, however much they might be reduced in price, would not be encreaſed, whilſt that of manual labour would conſiderably be diminiſhed.

Senſible as the Chineſe ſeem to be of the advantages derived from an eaſy communication between the different parts of the empire, by means of canals, it is the more ſurprizing what the motives could have been that, till this moment, have reſtrained them from facilitating an intercourſe by means of good roads, in ſuch parts of the country as have no inland navigations. In this reſpect they fall ſhort of moſt civilized nations. Except near the capital, and in ſome few places where the junction of the grand canal with navigable rivers is interrupted by mountainous ground, there is ſcarcely a road in the whole country that can be ranked beyond a foot-path. Hence it happens that in the northern provinces, during winter, it is impoſſible to travel with any degree of eaſe, convenience, or ſafety; all the canals to the northward of the Yellow River, which runs from 34° to 35° latitude being frozen up. It is equally ſurprizing that their ingenuity has not extended itſelf to the invention of ſledges or ſome ſort of carriages ſuitable for travelling on ice, which other nations have converted into the beſt of roads *.

The

* I infer that ſuch is not the practice in China, from the manner in which the Dutch Embaſſadors were conveyed to and from the capital in the middle of winter.

The continuation of the Grand Canal, from the Yellow River to the *Yang-tſe-kiang*, was conſtructed upon the ſame

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winter. The inconveniencies they ſuffered on this occaſion are ſuch as can ſcarcely be conceived to have happened in a civilized country. The peruſal of the manuſcript journal I have elſewhere noticed conveyed to my mind the idea of a country dreary and deſolate, and of a people indigent and diſtreſſed; without humanity, and without hoſpitality. They travelled in little bamboo chairs, carried by four men, who were generally ſo weak and tottering that they could not go through the day's journey, but were obliged, frequently, in the middle of the night, to halt in an open uninhabited part of the country, where not a hovel of any deſcription was to be met with to ſhelter them from the inclemency of the weather. And it moſt commonly happened, that the lodgings appointed for their reception, at the different ſtages, were in ſuch a miſerable condition, admitting on every ſide the wind, rain, or ſnow, that they generally preferred taking a little reſt in their bamboo chairs. They were ſurprized to find ſo few cities, towns, or villages in their route, and not leſs ſurprized at the ruinous condition in which theſe few appeared to be. Near the capital a whole city exhibited only a maſs of ruins. In many places they found the country under water, and the mud hovels completely melted down. Sometimes they paſſed extenſive waſtes, where not a trace was viſible of any kind of cultivation, nor a ſingle dwelling occurred in the diſtance of eight or ten Engliſh miles. And it was not before they had croſſed the Yellow River that they perceived the marks of wheel-carriages imprinted on the roads, which were ſo little travelled upon that they could with difficulty be traced. Here they met old men and young women travelling in wheel-barrows; and litters carried by aſſes, one being fixed between the poles before, and one behind. The rivers had no bridges over them; and ſuch as were too deep to be forded, they were under the neceſſity of croſſing on rafts of bamboo. In ſhort, before they arrived at the capital, the fatigue and hardſhips they had undergone conſiderably impaired their health, and the condition of their clothing was ſuch as to excite the compaſſion of the mandarines, who made them a preſent of twenty ſheep-ſkin jackets, dreſſed with the wool upon them; which, like the Hottentots, they wore inwards. One of theſe gentlemen aſſured me, that having ſatisfied his curioſity, no earthly conſideration ſhould tempt him to undertake a ſecond journey by land to the capital; for that he believed the whole world could not furniſh a like picture of deſolation and miſery. What a contraſt is here exhibited to the eaſe and convenience with which our journey was made! But the whole treatment of the Dutch embaſſy ſeems to have been proportioned to the degree of importance which the Chineſe attached to the political condition of this nation.

principles as that part between the Yellow River and the *Eu-ho*. The country being level and abounding with lakes and marſhy grounds, it was carried upon a mound of earth kept together by retaining walls of ſtone the whole diſtance, which is about ninety miles, being in parts not leſs than twenty feet above the general level of the country; and the ſheet of water it contained was two hundred feet in width, running ſometimes at the rate of three miles an hour. Canals of communication ſupplied it from the weſtward; and the ſuperfluous water was let off upon the low marſhes. The tops of the walls of *Pao-yng-ſhien* were juſt on a level with the ſurface of the water in the canal, ſo that if the bank oppoſite to it were to burſt, the whole city muſt inevitably be inundated. Very little cultivation appeared in this low marſhy country, but abundance of towns and villages, the inhabitants of which ſubſiſted by fiſhing. A prodigious extent of low country on each ſide of the Yellow river, perhaps not much leſs than the ſurface of all England, is liable to inundations. The Chineſe ſay, the overflowing of this river has been more fatal to the country than war, peſtilence, or famine. The Emperor *Kaung-ſhee*, in order to diſtreſs a rebel in the province of *Honan*, ordered a bank to be broken down behind a city he had got poſſeſſion of; but the inundation was ſo great, that not only the rebel forces were deſtroyed, but almoſt half a million of people were completely ſwept away; and among theſe were ſeveral European miſſionaries. Vaſt ſums of money are expended in confining this river within its banks. The ſame Emperor in his laſt will declares, that the ſums of money iſſued annually from the Imperial treaſury for the embankments to prevent inundations, were never leſs, during his whole reign,

than 3,000,000 ounces of ſilver, equivalent to one million ſterling.

On approaching the *Yang-tſe-kiang* the appearance of the country improved, juſt as it had done in the vicinity of the Yellow River. The town of *Sau-poo*, extending along the quay of the canal, conſiſted of houſes that were generally two ſtories high, apparently well built, white-waſhed with lime and kept in neat and clean order. The inhabitants were alſo better cloathed than we had hitherto been accuſtomed to ſee them. The women were leſs ſhy in their advances; their complexions were much fairer and their features more ſoft and handſome than any we had yet obſerved in the northern provinces.

The walls and gates of *Yang-tchoo-foo* bore marks of great antiquity, being partly in ruins and almoſt entirely overgrown with moſs and creeping plants. A thouſand veſſels, at leaſt, of different deſcriptions were lying under its walls. Here we remained for the night; and the following morning, being the 5th of November, we launched into the grand and beautiful river called the *Yang-tſe-kiang*, which at this place was about two miles in width; but the current was ſo gentle, that no oblation to the preſiding deity was thought to be neceſſary. The numerous iſlands riſing out of the river and covered with verdure, the multitude of ſhips of war, of burden and of pleaſure, ſome gliding down the ſtream, others ſailing againſt it; ſome moving by oars and others lying at anchor; the banks on either ſide covered with towns and houſes, as far as the eye could reach, preſented a proſpect more varied and cheerful than any that

that had hitherto occurred. Nor was the canal, on the oppoſite ſide, leſs lively; for two whole days we were continually paſſing among fleets of veſſels of different conſtructions and dimenſions, thoſe belonging to the revenue department being the largeſt, each capable of carrying, at leaſt, two hundred tons. Cities, towns and villages were continued along the banks without intermiſſion: and vaſt numbers of ſtone bridges were thrown acroſs the canal, ſome having one, ſome two, and others three arches. The face of the country was beautifully diverſified with hill and dale and every part of it in the higheſt ſtate of cultivation. The chief produce was that particular ſpecies of cotton, of a yellowiſh tinge, known in Europe by the name of nankin.

The ſuburbs of *Sou-tchoo-foo* employed us full three hours in paſſing before we reached the walls of the city, where a multitude of veſſels were lying at anchor. The numerous inhabitants that appeared upon and without the walls of this extenſive city, were better dreſſed and ſeemed to be more contented and cheerful, than we had yet obſerved them in any other place. For the moſt part they were cloathed in ſilk. The ladies were here dreſſed in petticoats and not in trowſers, as they had hitherto appeared to the northward. The general faſhion of the head-dreſs was a black ſatin cap with a triangular peak, the point deſcending to the root of the noſe, in the middle of which, or about the centre of the forehead, was a cryſtal button. The whole face and neck were waſhed with a preparation of white lead and the cheeks highly rouged; and two vermillion ſpots, like wafers, were particularly conſpicuous, one on the centre of the under lip and the other on the chin. Their feet

feet were univerſally ſqueezed down to an unnatural ſize. Few females were ſeen among the immenſe crowds that the novelty of the ſight had brought together, but great numbers had aſſembled in the houſes and particularly on board the pleaſure or paſſage yachts, with the intention of ſatisfying their curioſity. The ſuperior ſtyle of dreſs and the appearance of the women in public at this place, ſo different from the general cuſtom of the country, could only be explained to us by the writings of the Chriſtian miſſionaries, who obſerve that the concubines of mandarins and men of property are chiefly procured from the cities of *Yang-tchoo* and of *Sou-tchoo*, where they are educated in the pleaſing arts of ſinging, muſic and dancing and every other accompliſhment ſuitable to women of ſuperior rank, in order to render them the more agreeable and faſcinating. That ſuch women are generally purchaſed by perſons engaged in the trade, in different parts of the country, and trained in theſe cities, where they are diſpoſed of to the higheſt bidder, " *this* " *being the principal branch of trade that is carried on in thoſe* " *two cities.*" How do theſe holy men reconcile ſo infamous a traffic among a people whom they have adorned with every virtue? a people whom they have rendered remarkable among nations for their filial piety! Is there on earth a crime more revolting againſt civilized nature, or more deteſtable to civilized ſociety, than that of a parent ſelling his own child and conſigning her, expreſsly and voluntarily, into a ſtate of proſtitution? Thoſe unfortunate wretches who, in Europe, have by any accident reduced themſelves to that degraded and deplorable condition of becoming ſubſervient to the pleaſures of a man, whom they probably deteſt, are generally the objects of pity,

pity, however their conduct may be diſapproved; but a parent, who ſhould be the cauſe of reducing them to ſuch a ſtate, would be execrated; but the aſſertion is as abſurd as ridiculous, and the writer muſt have been very credulous to ſuppoſe, that the *principal trade* of one of the largeſt cities in the world, whoſe population cannot be leſs than a million of ſouls, ſhould conſiſt in buying and ſelling ladies of pleaſure. Buying females in the legal way is certainly the greateſt branch of trade throughout China, as every woman there is bought and ſold. Theſe reverend gentlemen likewiſe inform us, with great indifference, that if a man be deſirous of having a male child and his wife ſhould happen to be barren, he will purchaſe one of theſe concubines for the ſole purpoſe of getting an heir; and, when this is accompliſhed, he either provides her with a huſband, or turns her adrift. Such are the moral virtues of the Chineſe, compared with whom all other nations have been accounted barbarous *.

To the weſt of *Sau-tchoo-foo* is a range of mountains higher than any we had yet ſeen, well covered with wood; and an extenſive lake ſtretches along their baſe, famed in China for its pictureſque beauties and for its fiſh. We would gladly have made a party of pleaſure to this delightful ſpot, but innumerable objections, as uſual, were ſtarted by our conductors, on the ſcore of delay that ſuch an excurſion would occaſion.

* It may be obſerved of almoſt all the writings of the miſſionaries concerning China, that virtues of ſo trifling a nature as hardly to deſerve the name, have met their unqualified praiſe, whilſt enormous vices have either been palliated or paſſed over in ſilence.

The

The two great products of this part of the country are rice and ſilk; the former of which, at this time, they were buſily employed in reaping. Plantations of the mulberry tree were extended on both ſides of the canal and into the country beyond the reach of ſight. They appeared to be of two diſtinct ſpecies; the one, the common mulberry, *morus nigra*, and the other having much ſmaller leaves, ſmooth and heart-ſhaped, and bearing a white berry about the ſize of the field ſtrawberry. The latter had more the habit of a ſhrub, but the branches of neither were ſuffered to run into ſtrong wood, being frequently pruned in order that the trunk might annually throw out young ſcions, whoſe leaves were conſidered to be more tender than ſuch as grew from old branches. Another reaſon was alſo aſſigned for this operation. A tree, when left to itſelf, throws out the greateſt part of its leaves at once, in the ſpring of the year, but if the thick wood be cut out from time to time, new leaves will continue to puſh below the parts ſo cut off during the whole ſeaſon; and, accordingly, the Chineſe are particularly attentive to prune afreſh in the autumn, in order to obtain a ſupply of young leaves in the after-ſpring. The thermometer at this place, on the 9th of November at ſun-riſe, ſtood at 64°, and at noon in the ſhade at 70° degrees.

It was in this part of the canal where the bridge of ninety-one arches, mentioned in the ſixth chapter, was thrown acroſs the arm of a lake that joined the canal. I lament exceedingly that we paſſed this extraordinary fabric in the night. It happened to catch the attention of a Swiſs ſervant who, as the yacht glided along, began to count the arches, but finding them increaſe in number

number much beyond his expectation and, at the ſame time, in dimenſions, he ran into the cabin calling out with great eagerneſs, " For God's ſake, gentlemen, come upon deck, for " here is a bridge ſuch as I never ſaw before; it has no " end." Mr. Maxwell and I haſtened upon deck and, by the faint light, could ſufficiently diſtinguiſh the arches of a bridge running parallel with the eaſtern bank of the canal, acroſs the arm of a vaſt lake, with which the navigation thus communicated. From the higheſt point, or what appeared to us to be the central arch, I counted forty-five to the end; here they were very ſmall, but the central arch I gueſſed to be about thirty feet high and forty wide; and the whole length of the bridge I calculated to be about half a mile. The conſtruction of ſuch a bridge, in ſuch a ſituation, could obviouſly have been employed for no other purpoſe than that of opening a free communication with the lake; and, at the ſame time, of avoiding the labour and expence of accumulating materials ſufficient for making a ſolid embankment.

After ſailing a great part of the day through a foreſt of mulberry trees, planted with much regularity, we arrived on the 10th at the city of *Hang-tchoo-foo*, the capital of the province of *Tche-kiang*. Here that branch of the grand canal which communicates with the *Yang-tſe-kiang* terminates in a large commodious baſon, at this time crowded with ſhipping. From this baſon a number of ſmaller canals, paſſing through arches turned in the walls and interſecting the city in every direction, are finally united in a lake beyond the weſtern wall called the *See-hoo*. The natural and artificial beauties of this lake far

exceeded any thing we had hitherto had an opportunity of ſeeing in China. The mountains ſurrounding it were lofty and broken into a variety of forms that were highly picturesque; and the vallies were richly cloathed with trees of different kinds, among which three ſpecies were remarkably ſtriking, not only by their intrinſic beauty, but alſo by the contraſt they formed with themſelves and the reſt of the trees of the foreſt. Theſe were the *Laurus Camphora* or camphor tree, the *Croton ſebiferum* or tallow tree, and the *Thuia Orientalis* or arbor vitæ. The bright ſhining green foliage of the firſt, mingled with the purple leaves of the ſecond, and overtopped by the tall and ſtately *tree of life*, of the deepeſt green, produced a pleaſing effect to the eye; and the landſcape was rendered ſtill more intereſting to the mind, by the very ſingular and diverſified appearance of ſeveral repoſitories of the dead, upon the ſloping ſides of the inferior hills. Here, as well as elſewhere, the ſombre and upright cypreſs was deſtined to be the melancholy companion of the tombs. Higher ſtill among the woods, avenues had been opened to admit of rows of ſmall blue houſes, ſupported on white colonnades which, on examination, were alſo found to be manſions of the dead. Naked coffins of extraordinary thickneſs were every where lying upon the ſurface of the ground.

The lake that extended from the walls of the city to the feet of the mountains, and threw its numerous arms into the wooded vallies, was the ſeat of pleaſure, as well as of profit, to the inhabitants of *Hang-tchoo-foo*. Theſe amuſements, however, of floating upon barges in the lake are principally confined to one ſex.

ſex. Few women, except thoſe of looſe character, join in the parties of men. How miſerable or, at beſt, how little intereſt can be raiſed in that ſtate of ſociety where no ſocial intercourſe of the ſexes exiſts; where ſentiment, nice feeling and the ſport and play of the ſofter paſſions are totally unknown, and where reaſon and philoſophy are at ſo low an ebb! In more enlightened countries, when age may have weakened the ardour of joining in the ſprightly female circle, or inclination lead to more ſerious converſations, numberleſs reſources are ſtill left to exerciſe the faculties of the mind, and ſociety may always be had for ſuch as can reliſh

"The feaſt of reaſon and the flow of ſoul."

But in China the tenor of their converſation muſt be always nearly the ſame, turning chiefly on the affairs of the neighbourhood, the injuſtice of the magiſtrates, the tricks and ſtratagems of the crafty merchant, or of the low mechanic. In entertainments given by thoſe who can afford to drink wine, it is ſeldom ſerved round as in other countries, but a number of puerile contrivances are practiſed to determine which of the party is to drink, as in the caſe I have already noticed of *the game of the fingers*. Thus, a noſegay is paſſed round from hand to hand, whilſt a man in an adjoining room beats a drum or the gong, and he who happens to hold the noſegay when the inſtrument ceaſes muſt drink a cup of wine. Many other methods ſtill more childiſh are reſorted to, in order to paſs the time and to give a zeſt to their wine; but the uſual reſource here, as well as elſewhere, againſt the tedioufneſs of time, is gaming. An attachment to this vice accompanies the loweſt

Chineſe wherever he goes. It is ſaid that in one of our eaſtern colonies, where Chineſe are encouraged to ſettle, they pay to the government the annual ſum of ten thouſand dollars for a licence to keep gaming tables and ſell opium.

Our route being neceſſarily delayed for two days at this place, on account of an intervening neck of land over which all the baggage was to be tranſported, I prevailed upon our good-natured companion *Van-ta-gin* to make a party to the lake *Seehoo*; to which he readily aſſented; and this was the only excurſion that we had in the courſe of the whole journey. We had a ſplendid yacht and another made faſt to it to ſerve as a kitchen; the dinner began the inſtant we went on board and ceaſed only when we ſtepped a-ſhore. It conſiſted of at leaſt a hundred diſhes in ſucceſſion, among which were excellent eels, freſh caught in the lake and dreſſed in a variety of ways; yet the water was clear as cryſtal. Vaſt numbers of barges were ſailing to and fro, all gaily decorated with paint and gilding and ſtreaming colours; the parties within them apparently all in purſuit of pleaſure. The margins of the lake were ſtudded with light aereal buildings, among which one of more ſolidity and of greater extent than the reſt was ſaid to belong to the Emperor. The grounds were encloſed with brick walls and moſtly planted with vegetables and fruit trees; but in ſome there appeared to be collections of ſuch ſhrubs and flowers as are moſt eſteemed in the country. Among the fruits we got at this place was the *Jambo* or roſe apple; and, for the firſt time, freſh from the tree, but not yet perfectly ripe, two ſpecies of oranges, the common China and the ſmall one uſually called the Man-

darin orange; pomgranates, bananas very indifferent and melons equally bad; apricots far from being equal to thoſe of our own country; a large plumb, reſembling the egg plumb, alſo indifferent, and peaches that might have been much improved by judicious culture; applés and pears that in England we ſhould have no heſitation in pronouncing execrably bad; and a ſpecies of fruit unknown to all of us which the Chineſe called *Zee-tſé*, of a ſweet ſickly taſte when ripe, otherwiſe moſt inſufferably aſtringent. Some of the gentlemen thought they ſaw hazel nuts among the ſhruberry, but it is more than probable they were miſtaken. A few bad grapes were ſometimes brought to us, but the party who went from hence to *Chu-ſan* met with abundance of this fruit, and of very good quality, growing upon ſtandards erected in the ſeveral canals and forming a ſhade under which the barges could paſs.

Among the moſt conſpicuous of the ſhrubs, on the borders of the lake *See-hoo*, was the *Hibiſcus mutabilis*, the *Hibiſcus Syriacus*, the *Syringa Vulgaris* or common lilac, and the paper mulberry; we obſerved alſo a ſpecies of *Mimoſa*, a *Crotularia*, *Cratægus*, *Roſa*, *Rhamnus*, *Sambucus*, *Juniper* and the cotton plant. Of flowers we particularly noticed a large purple-coloured double poppy which, with the *Nelumbium* that grew here in all the ponds and a ſpecies of *pæonia*, appear moſt frequently on the large ſheets of painted paper uſed for covering the walls of their apartments. A great variety of beautiful balſams were alſo in flower, a ſpecies of *Amaranthus*, a *Xeranthemum* and *Gnaphalium*. I mention only ſuch plants as caught the eye in paſſing, for our Chineſe companions, who had a much better appetite

for

for the eels of the lake and other goods things they had taken care to provide than for botany, had no notion of being detained by a buſh or a flower.

The next day Lieutenant Colonel, now General, Benſon, Doctor Gillan, and myſelf, accompanied by a military officer and his orderly, rode over the neck of land to look at the yachts that were preparing for our future journey. As it was rather late before we returned, I propoſed that we ſhould paſs through the city as I had done the day before with our conductor *Van*, which would ſave us half the diſtance. The officer perceiving our intention endeavoured to draw us off to the right, but finding us perſevere he whiſpered the orderly, who immediately puſhed forward towards the gate. Aware that the intention of this meaſure was to ſhut the gate againſt us, we ſpurred our horſes and followed him, upon which the officer and his orderly ſet up ſuch a hue and cry that the whole ſuburbs were preſently in a ſtate of commotion. The gates were inſtantly ſhut and ſurrounded by a crowd. Within all was confuſion. Meſſage after meſſage was diſpatched to the Governor; the gongs were beat and the guards were drawn out in every part of the city. I aſſured them there was nothing to fear; that we were only three, and had no other deſign but to paſs to our yachts. During this time our *mandarin of war*, in preſence of the whole populace, was down on his knees in the dirt, firſt before one and then another, intreating us to give up the point; ſo mean and deſpicable have the maxims of the government made theſe people. At length our friends *Van* and *Chou*, with the interpreter and a numerous train of ſoldiers and attendants, made their

their appearance, and pretended to enjoy the joke of three Engliſhmen having cauſed ſo much alarm to one of their ſtrongeſt cities, which at that time had a garriſon of three thouſand men within its walls. On expreſſing our ſurpriſe at ſuch unneceſſary precaution, *Van* obſerved, that our conductor did not know us ſo well as he did, and, as he was reſponſible for our ſafe return, he would rather have travelled us all night through the country than brought us among the crowd in the ſtreets. When the new viceroy of Canton (who travelled with us from hence) heard of this affair, and underſtood from our conductors that the Engliſh found great pleaſure in walking and looking about them (a pleaſure of which a Chineſe can form no idea) he immediately gave orders that the gentlemen in the train of the Embaſſador ſhould walk whenever they pleaſed without any moleſtation.

In the city of *Hang-tcheo-foo*, being particularly famed for its ſilk-trade, we were not ſurprized to meet with extenſive ſhops and warehouſes; in point of ſize and the ſtock contained within them they might be ſaid to vie with the beſt in London. In ſome of theſe were not fewer than ten or twelve perſons ſerving behind the counter; but in paſſing through the whole city not a ſinge woman was viſible, either within doors or without. The crowd of people, compoſed of the other ſex, appeared to be little inferior to that in the great ſtreets of Pekin. Here, though moſtly narrow they had in other reſpects much the advantage of thoſe in the capital, being paved with broad flag-ſtones, reſembling the Merceria of Venice [or courts of the Strand; Cranburn-Alley is rather too wide for a Chineſe ſtreet, but

but thoſe of this city were equally well paved. They appeared to be kept extremely neat and clean. In every ſhop were expoſed to view ſilks of different manufactures, dyed cottons and nankins, a great variety of Engliſh broad-cloths, chiefly however blue and ſcarlet, uſed for winter cloaks, for chair covers and for carpets; and alſo a quantity of peltry intended for the northern markets. The reſt of the houſes, in the public ſtreets through which we paſſed, conſiſted of butchers and bakers' ſhops, fiſh-mongers, dealers in rice and other grain, ivory-cutters, dealers in laquered ware, tea-houſes, cook-ſhops, and coffin-makers; the laſt of which is a trade of no ſmall note in China. The population of the city alone, I ſhould ſuppoſe, from its extent and appearance, to be not much inferior to that of Pekin; and the number of inhabitants in the ſuburbs, with thoſe that conſtantly reſided upon the water, were perhaps nearly equal to thoſe within the walls.

Here our conductor *Sun-ta-gin* took his leave, after having introduced to the Embaſſador the new Viceroy of Canton, who was now to accompany the Embaſſy to the ſeat of his government. His manners appeared to be no leſs amiable than thoſe of the Miniſter. He had travelled poſt from Pekin and, with many aſſurances on the part of the Emperor of the higheſt ſatisfaction he had derived from the embaſſy, he brought an additional preſent from him to His Majeſty, conſiſting of gold tiſſued ſilks, purſes taken from his own perſon and the *Card of Happineſs*. This is an ornamented piece of paper, neatly folded up and having in the centre the character *foo* or happineſs inſcribed by the Emperor's own hand, and is conſidered

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as the ſtrongeſt mark a ſovereign of China can give to another prince of his friendſhip and affection. Another card was given to the Embaſſador of a ſimilar import, as a teſtimony of his approbation of the conduct of the embaſſy, which was further confirmed by a preſent of ſilks, tea, fans and other trinkets to every individual of it.

A few miles beyond the city we again took ſhipping on the river *Tcheng-tang-chiang,* which might properly be called an eſtuary, the tide riſing and falling ſix or ſeven feet at the place of embarkation, which was not very diſtant from the Yellow Sea. After ſeven days of tedious navigation, if dragging by main ſtrength over a pebbly bottom on which the boats were conſtantly aground and againſt a rapid ſtream, could be ſo called, we came to its ſource near the city of *Tchang-ſan-ſhien.* But its banks were not deficient in beautiful views and pictureſque ſcenery. The general ſurface of the country was mountainous and romantic, but well cultivated in all ſuch places as would admit the labours of the huſbandman. One city only occurred in the courſe of ſeven days; but we paſſed numerous villages, ſituated in the valleys and the glens between the ridges of mountains; and fiſhermen's huts were conſtantly in view. There was here no want of trees, among which the moſt common were the tallow-tree and the camphor, cedars, firs and the tall and majeſtic arbor vitæ. Groves of oranges, citrons and lemons were abundantly interſperſed in the little vales that ſloped down to the brink of the river; and few of the huts were without a ſmall garden and plantation of tobacco. The larger plains were planted with the ſugar-cane. We had thus

far paſſed through the country without having ſeen a ſingle plant of the tea-ſhrub, but here we found it uſed as a common plant for hedge-rows to divide the gardens and fruit groves, but not particularly cultivated for its leaves.

At the city of *Tchang-ſan-ſhien* we had again a neck of land to croſs, in order to join the barges that were prepared on another river falling towards the weſtward, by which a connexion was formed with the uſual route from Pekin to Canton, from whence we had deviated at the *Yang-tſe-kiang* river, on account of ſome of the ſuite being intended to join the Hindoſtan in the harbour of *Tchu-ſan*. We were the leſs ſorry for this deviation, as it gave us an opportunity of ſeeing a part of the country over which there is no general communication with the grand route. In paſſing this neck of land, on a very fine cauſeway, judiciouſly led through the defiles of the mountains, we firſt obſerved the terrace ſyſtem of agriculture, ſo frequently mentioned in the writings of the miſſionaries. The Chineſe ſeem to entertain a particular averſion againſt ſowing or planting on ſloping ground and, accordingly, when ſuch occurs, they level it into a number of terraces one riſing above the other, which they ſupport by ſtone walls, if the earth ſhould not be thought ſufficiently ſtrong for the purpoſe. The great conveniency of leading the water from the uppermoſt to the loweſt terrace, without loſing any of its nutritive effects by a rapid courſe, ſeems to have ſuggeſted this mode of preparing the ground. In a hot and dry country, vegetation becomes languid without the command of water; and I obſerved that on the uppermoſt terrace there was invariably a tank or reſervoir to collect the

waters falling from the upper parts of the hills. The expence of labour, that had evidently been employed on ſuch terraces, was ſo great as to make any ſuitable return to the huſbandman apparently impoſſible; and ſtill leſs ſo in other places where the hills were completely dug away to the ſkeleton rocks, and the ſoil carried upon the marſhy ground at their feet.

With all this induſtry it might be concluded, from the general appearance of the people, that they merely gained a ſubſiſtence. It was with the utmoſt difficulty that the officers of government could procure, in the whole city which we laſt departed from, a ſufficient number of chairs for themſelves and thoſe gentlemen of the embaſſy who preferred to be thus carried, and horſes for the reſt. For the ſoldiers, indeed, that compoſed his Excellency's guard, they had prepared a ſort of open bamboo chair, fixed between two poles and meant to be carried ſhoulder-height. But the ſoldiers, ſqueezed into theſe little chairs and elevated in the air, with their feathers and their firelocks, ſoon perceived that they cut ſuch ridiculous figures and that the poor wretches who carried them were in ſo miſerable a condition, both with regard to their clothing and their habit of body, that, aſhamed to be thus dragged along, they preſently diſmounted and inſiſted, in their turn, upon carrying the Chineſe. Our conductors affected to conſider this as a good joke, but others were evidently nettled at it, ſuppoſing it might have been meant as a kind of oblique reflection on the indifferent accommodations that had been provided at this place for the Embaſſador and his retinue; which were

however the beſt that it was poſſible for them to procure by any exertions.

Having finiſhed this land journey, of about twenty-four miles, in the courſe of the day, we lodged at *Eu-ſhan-ſhein*, a ſmall city of mean appearance and the following day embarked on flat-bottomed barges, remarkably long and narrow, on the river *Long-ſhia-tong;* but two complete days of heavy rain obliged us to remain quietly at anchor.

On the 24th of November we dropped down the river, which by the rains was ſwelled to an enormous ſize and in ſome places had overflowed its banks, though in general high and rocky compoſed of a deep brown-coloured freeſtone. Several rice mills were ſo completely inundated, that their thatched roofs were but juſt viſible above the ſurface of the water; others were entirely waſhed away; and the wrecks of them ſcattered upon the banks of the river. A veſſel of our ſquadron was upſet upon the roof of one of theſe mills.

During two days' ſail the ſurface of the country was hilly and well wooded with camphors, firs, and tallow-trees; but as we approached the *Po-Yang* lake, a ſmall inland ſea, it began to aſſume the uniform appearance of an extended marſh, without any viſible ſigns of cultivation: here and there a few ſmall huts, ſtanding on the brink of pools of water, with twice the number of ſmall boats floating or drawn up on ſhore, ſufficiently indicated the occupation of the inhabitants. In this part of the country

country we had an opportunity of ſeeing the various means practiſed by the Chineſe to catch fiſh: rafts and other floating veſſels with the fiſhing corvorant: boats with moveable planks turning on hinges, and painted ſo as to deceive fiſhes on moonlight nights and entice them to leap out of the water upon the planks; nets ſet in every form; and wicker baſkets made exactly in the ſame manner as thoſe uſed in Europe. Large gourds and blocks of wood were floating on the water, in order to familiarize the various kinds of water-fowl to ſuch objects, which gave the Chineſe an opportunity, by ſticking their heads into gourds or earthen pots and keeping their bodies under water, to approach the birds in a gentle manner ſufficiently near to take them by the legs and draw them quietly under the water; a method which is ſaid to be practiſed by the natives of South America.

The nearer we approached the great lake *Po-yang*, the more dreary was the appearance of the country; and for the diſtance of ten miles around it, or at leaſt on the ſouth and weſt ſides, was a wild waſte of reeds and rank graſſes, ſuch as the *Scirpus*, *Cyperus*, and bulruſhes, interrupted only by ſtagnant pools of water. Not a human dwelling of any deſcription was to be ſeen. This place may juſtly be conſidered as the ſink of China, into which rivers fall from every point of the compaſs. It is ſcarcely poſſible for the imagination to form to itſelf an idea of a more deſolate region than that which ſurrounds the Po-yang lake. The temperature was ſo reduced, by the circumambient waters, that on the 27th November, with drizzling ſhowers, the thermometer was down to 48° in the forenoon. We ſailed near four whole days over the ſame kind of country and came, towards

towards the evening of the laſt, to the city of *Nan-tchang-foo*, the capital of *Kiang-ſee*, where we obſerved from four to five hundred of the revenue veſſels lying at anchor. We waited at this place a few hours to take in the neceſſary proviſions and to receive a preſent of ſilk, tea, and ſome other trifles from the viceroy. We were told of a famous temple in the neighbourhood of the city, but we had no curioſity to go out of the way to ſee it, which was dedicated to the man who, as we have already obſerved, made his *apotheoſis* comfortably in his own houſe; that there was a well belonging to this temple full of large ſnakes, whom the prieſts venerate and to whom they admoniſh the people to make ſacrifices, as being children of the dragons which, if not conſtantly appeaſed by oblations to theſe their offspring, would deſtroy the whole world. Thus, in all countries where votaries of ſuperſtition are to be found, will knaves be met with to take advantage of their weakneſs. The prieſts of this temple are ſaid to have made one obſervation, which is perhaps no ſuperſtition, that when theſe water ſnakes appear on the ſurface, rains and inundations are ſure to follow. I took advantage, however, of the ſhort delay, to go on board one of the revenue veſſels and to meaſure the capacity of its hold. It was in length 115 feet, breadth 15 feet, and depth 6 feet; the ſides ſtreight and the width nearly the ſame fore and aft; ſo that the burden might fairly be eſtimated at 250 tons. Independent, therefore, of the innumerable ſmall craft, there were lying before this city 100,000 tons of ſhipping.

The city of *Nan-tchang-foo* is ſituated upon the left bank of the river *Kan-kiang-ho* falling from the ſouthward into the *Po-yang*

Po-yang lake. It was here about five hundred yards in width, againſt the ſtream of which we made a rapid progreſs with a briſk breeze. For the firſt ſixty miles the country was flat and uncultivated, except in places where we obſerved a few fields of rice. But there was no want of population. Towns and villages were conſtantly in ſight, as were alſo manufactories of earthen ware, bricks and tiles. The farther we advanced up the river, the more populous was the country, the more varied and agreeable the ſurface, and the more extended the cultivation. The banks were ſkirted with large trees, that caſt a cool and comfortable ſhade on the walks beneath. Of theſe, ſome were willows, others camphors, but by far the greateſt number were the *Yang-tchoo*, a large ſpreading tree that threw its branches down to the ground where, like the *Ficus Indicus*, of which indeed it was a variety, they took root and became ſtems.

At the city *Kei-ſhui-ſhien*, which like moſt cities in China offered little worthy of remark, the river divided into two branches; and at *Kin-gan-foo*, a city of the firſt order, which we paſſed the ſame night, by the river contracting ſuddenly the current became ſtronger and of courſe our progreſs ſlower. To track the barges it was neceſſary again to preſs a number of men; here, however, it may be obſerved, they undertook the ſervice with more willingneſs than to the northward. The river meandered through a mountainous and barren country, rich only in pictureſque beauty which, though pleaſing to the eye of the artiſt and the connoiſſeur, has leſs charms for the philoſopher, who finds more real beauties to exiſt in a ſoil, however

however tame and uniform, that can be rendered ſubſervient to the uſes of man.

On the 3d of November we approached that part of the river which, on account of the numerous ſhip-wrecks that have happened there, is held in no ſmall degree of dread by the Chineſe. They call it the *Shee-pa-tan*, or the eighteen cataracts: which are torrents formed by ledges of rock running acroſs the bed of the river. They have not, however, any thing very terrific in them, not one being half ſo dangerous as the fall at London bridge about half-tide. But the Chineſe have no great dexterity in the management of their veſſels. They are ſo eaſily alarmed, that they frequently miſcarry through timidity, when a little recollection and reſolution would have ſecured them ſucceſs. The mountains between which the river was hemmed in were covered with foreſts of the larch fir; the glens and vallies abounded with the bamboo, of which we here obſerved two ſpecies, one the ſame that is common in other parts of the Eaſt, and the ſecond much ſmaller in its growth, ſeldom exceeding the height of ten feet; and the fibres of its ſmall ſtem are more hard and ſolid than thoſe of the other ſpecies. The Chineſe uſe it in the finer parts of ſuch houſehold furniture and other articles as are conſtructed of bamboo. From the margins of the river to the feet of the foreſts the lower parts of the mountains were covered with coppice, among which the moſt common ſhrub bore a cloſe reſemblance to the tea plant, and accordingly the Chineſe called it the *Tcha wha*, or flower of tea. It was the *Camellia Seſanqua* of Thunberg, to which they had given the ſame name (not being very nice in ſpecific diſtinctions)

tions, as to the *Camellia Japonica* of Linnæus. From the nut of the former not unlike to, though ſomewhat ſmaller than, the cheſnut, a very pleaſant oil is expreſſed and uſed for ſimilar purpoſes to the Florence oil in Europe.

This intricate part of the river, where innumerable pointed rocks occurred, ſome above, ſome even with, and others juſt below the ſurface of the water, required two long days' ſail with a fair breeze; and the falls became more rapid and dangerous the farther we advanced. At the fifteenth cataract we perceived two or three veſſels lying againſt the rocks with their flat-bottoms uppermoſt; a terrible ſight for our bargemen who, like the countryman in the fable, inſtead of applying the ſhoulder to the wheel, began to implore the aſſiſtance of the river god by ſounding the gong, in order to rouſe his attention and by regaling his olfactory nerves with the ſmoke of ſandal-wood matches; ſo that had we been dropping down the ſtream, inſtead of going againſt it, there was every reaſon to apprehend that our barge would have ſhared a ſimilar fate; for it received many a gentle rub againſt the rocks.

The appearance of the country in the neighbourhood of the cataracts was extremely beautiful. The tranſparency of the ſtream, the bold rocks finely fringed with wood, and the varied forms of the mountains called to mind thoſe delightful ſtreams that are diſcharged from the lakes of the northern counties of England. Like theſe too, the *Kan-kiang-ho* abounded with fiſh, not however with the delicious trout but one of much leſs flavour, a ſpecies of perch. Great numbers of rafts were

floating on the river with the fiſhing corvorant, and we obſerved that he ſeldom dived without ſucceſs. For the whole diſtance of three days' journey, the hilly country bordering on the river produced very little but the *Camellia Seſanqua*, which appeared to be every where of ſpontaneous growth.

We halted on the 6th of December, late in the evening, before the city of *Kan-tchoo-foo*, which is remarkable for nothing that I could learn except for the great quantity of varniſh trees the *Rhus verhix* I ſuppoſe, that are cultivated in the neighbourhood. In the courſe of the journey we had picked up two varieties of the tea plant, taken out of the ground and potted by our own gardener; and which, being in good growing order, were intended to be ſent to Bengal as ſoon as occaſion might ſerve after our arrival at Canton. Knowing we ſhould be hurried away, as uſual, in the morning and wiſhing to procure a few young plants of the varniſh tree, I prevailed on our good friend *Van-ta-gin* to diſpatch ſome perſon for that purpoſe, to add to thoſe of the tea plant and the *Camellia Senſanqua*. *Van* made application to the men in office at this place, with the beſt intention of ſerving us, but theſe gentry, either conceiving that their compliance might be treaſon to the ſtate, or elſe, in the true ſpirit of the nation, determined to play a trick upon the ſtrangers, certainly procured the plants and ſent them on board in pots, juſt as we were departing the next morning. In a ſhort time they all began to droop, the leaves withered and, on examination, it was found that not a ſingle plant among them had the leaſt portion of a root, being nothing more than ſmall branches of trees which, from the nature of

of the wood, were not likely nor indeed ever intended to ſtrike root.

From *Kan-tchoo-foo* the face of the country became more uniform and ſuitable for the labours of agriculture; and, accordingly, we found a very ſmall portion of it unoccupied. Wheat about ſix inches above ground and extenſive plantations of the ſugar cane fit for cutting, were the chief articles under cultivation: and the farther we advanced to the ſouthward, the more abundant and extended were thoſe of the latter. The canes were remarkably juicy and their joints from ſix to nine inches in length. To expreſs the juice from them and convert it into a conſiſtent maſs, temporary mills were erected in different places among the plantations. The proceſs was very ſimple. A pair of cylinders, ſometimes of ſtone but more generally of hard wood, placed vertically, were put in motion by oxen or buffalos and from the foot of theſe the expreſſed juice was conveyed, by a tube carried under the floor, into a boiler that was ſunk in the ground at the end of the apartment; where it was boiled to a proper degree of conſiſtence the expreſſed canes ſerving as fuel. Though unacquainted with the proceſs of refining ſugar, the natural tendency that the ſyrup poſſeſſes of forming itſelf into cryſtals in cooling had ſuggeſted to them the means of obtaining very fine and pure ſugar-candy which, in the market of Canton, is ſold in a pulverized ſtate as white as the beſt refined ſugar. The coarſe ſyrup, uſually called treacle or molaſſes, and the dregs, are not employed, as in the Weſt India iſlands, in the diſtillation of rum, but are ſometimes thrown into the ſtill with fermented rice, in order to procure a

better kind of *Seau-tchoo* or *burnt* wine; the chief uſe, however, of the molaſſes is to preſerve fruits and other vegetable productions; and particularly the roots of ginger, a conſerve of which the Chineſe are remarkably fond.

The bed of the river having, in the lapſe of ages, ſettled to the depth of twenty, thirty, or even forty feet below the general level of the country, it became neceſſary to employ ſome artificial means of obtaining the water for the purpoſe, of irrigation. The contrivance made uſe of to raiſe it to the height of the banks was ſimple and ingenious; and from hence it was conveyed in ſmall channels to every part of the cane plantations. Of the uſeful machine employed for this purpoſes conſiſting of a bamboo wheel which I underſtand has been adopted in America, a view and ſection may be ſeen among the plates accompanying Sir George Staunton's authentic account of the embaſſy. I ſhall therefore content myſelf with obſerving in this place that, the axis excepted, it is entirely conſtructed of bamboo, without the aſſiſtance of a ſingle nail or piece of iron; that the expence of making it is a mere trifle; that in its operations it requires no attendance, and that it will lift, to the height of forty feet, one hundred and fifty tons of water in the courſe of twenty-four hours *. Every plantation near this part of the river had its wheel and ſome of them two;

* The water-wheels ſtill uſed in Syria differ only from thoſe of China, by having looſe buckets ſuſpended at the circumference, inſtead of fixed tubes. "The "wheels of Hama," ſays Volney, "are thirty-two feet in diameter. Troughs are "faſtened to the circumference, and ſo diſpoſed as to fall in the river, and when "they reach the vertex of the wheel, diſcharge the water into a reſervoir."

and the water raiſed by them was ſometimes conveyed at once into the plots of canes and ſometimes into reſervoirs, out of which it was afterwards pumped, as occaſion might require, by the chain-pump and carried to thoſe places where it might be wanted along ſmall channels coated with clay.

The women of this province were more robuſt than ordinary and well ſuited, by their ſtrength and muſcular powers, to endure the hard labour and drudgery of the field, which ſeemed to be their chief employment. This ſort of labour, however, might be the cauſe, rather than the conſequence, of their extraordinary ſtrength and maſculine form. The habitual uſe of hard labour, to which the women are here brought up, fits them beſt to become the wives of the peaſantry in the neighbouring provinces; and accordingly, when a Chineſe farmer is deſirous of purchaſing a working wife he makes his offers in *Kiang-ſee*. It was here that we ſaw a woman yoked literally by traces to a plough, whilſt the huſband or maſter had the lighter taſk of holding it by one hand and drilling in the ſeed with the other. The exertion of labour together with the conſtant expoſure to the weather, in a climate ſituated under the twenty-fifth to the twenty-ninth parallel of latitude, have contributed to render more coarſe and forbidding the features of the fair ſex of *Kiang-ſee*, in the formation of which, indeed, Nature had not been too bountiful. Like the women of the Malay nation, with whom they moſt probably are derived from one common ſtock, they fixed their ſtrong black hair cloſe to the head by two metal ſkewers. Their dreſs, in other reſpects, was the ſame as that of the men, and like theſe they wore ſtraw ſandals on their feet.

Thus

Thus far, by avoiding the pain attendant on faſhionable feet, and enjoying the free uſe of their limbs, they might be ſaid to have the advantage of the city ladies. It was, indeed, obſerved that even ſuch as were not employed in the labours of the field, but kept conſtantly at home for domeſtic purpoſes, were, in this province, equally exempted from the barbarous faſhion of cramping the feet.

On the 9th we again entered a narrow defile and here with difficulty the veſſels were forced along againſt a ſtrong current; and over the pebbly bottom, againſt which they were conſtantly ſtriking. At *Nan-gan-foo*, where we arrived in the evening, the river ceaſes to be navigable. Indeed the whole of the three laſt days' navigation might, with propriety, in England be called only a trout ſtream; upon which no nation on earth, except the Chineſe, would have conceived the idea of floating any kind of craft; they have however adapted, in an admirable manner, the form and conſtruction of their veſſels to the nature and depth of the navigation; towards the upper part of the preſent river they drew only, when moderately laden, about ſix inches of water. They were from fifty to ſeventy feet in length, narrow and flat-bottomed, a little curved, ſo that they took the ground only in the middle point. Yet, in ſeveral places, the water was ſo ſhallow that they could not be dragged over until a channel had been made, by removing the ſtones and gravel with iron rakes. The length of this river, from its ſource at *Nan-gan-foo* to the *Po-yang* lake, is nearly three hundred Engliſh miles. The banks in the low part of the province of *Kiang-ſee* conſiſted of a deep ſoil of black earth,

ſupported

ſupported on clay of a dark red or brown colour; denoting the preſence of iron. The mountains were chiefly of red ſand-ſtone; and the ſoil of the hills, producing the *Camellia*, was a brown loam mixed with particles of mica.

We had now before us another land-journey, over the ſteep and lofty mountain of *Me-lin*, whoſe ſummit is the boundary between the two provinces of *Kiang-ſee* and *Quan-tung*; on the ſouth ſide of which commences the river *Pei-kiang-ho* that flows by the port of Canton; and whoſe mouth is familiarly known in Europe by the name of the *Bocca Tigris*. The aſcent of this mountain, which ſome undertook on horſeback and others in chairs, was made by a well-paved road, carried in a zig-zag manner over the very higheſt point, where a paſs was cut to a conſiderable depth through a granite rock; a work that had evidently not been accompliſhed with any moderate degree of labour or expence. In the middle of the paſs was a military poſt, much ſtronger than ordinary, and it was defended or, more correctly ſpeaking, it was ſupplied with two old pieces of cannon, that had been caſt, in all probability, near two hundred years ago, perhaps by the Jeſuits who firſt taught them an art which they ſeem already to have forgotten or neglected.

The view from the ſummit towards the ſouthward, over the province of Canton, was as rich and enchanting as that on the oppoſite ſide was dreary and barren. In deſcending the gradual ſlope of about twelve miles, before the mountain had blended with the general ſurface of the country, there was a conſtant ſucceſſion

ſucceſſion of dwellings; ſo that this whole diſtance might almoſt be conſidered as one continued ſtreet. Half of the buildings conſiſted, however, of places of convenience to which paſſengers might retire to obey the calls of nature; and the doors, or rather the openings into ſuch erections, were always invitingly fronting the ſtreet. To each ſingle dwelling, whether alone or joined with others, was annexed a fabric of this deſcription. Each was conſtructed upon a large terrace ciſtern, lined with ſuch materials that no abſorption could take place; and ſtraw and other dry rubbiſh are thrown in by the owners, from time to time, to prevent evaporation. In one of the ſtreets of Canton is a row of buildings of this kind which, in ſo warm a climate, is a dreadful nuiſance; but the conſideration of preſerving that kind of manure, which by the Chineſe is conſidered as ſuperior for forcing vegetation to all others, has got the better of both decency and prudence.

All the paſſengers we met upon this road were laden with jars of oil expreſſed from the Camellia. In the courſe of eighteen miles, which is about the diſtance from the ſummit of *Me-lin* to the city of *Nan-ſheun-foo*, we paſſed at leaſt a thouſand perſons on their way to *Nan-gan-foo*, each bearing ten or twelve gallons of oil and among theſe were a number of women.

Having now traverſed five of the provinces of China, that are conſidered among the moſt populous and productive in the empire, a general ſketch may be drawn, by taking a retroſpective view, of the ſtate of agriculture and the condition of the

the people; of their habitations, dreſs, diet and means of ſubſiſtence; and ſome concluſion drawn as to the population of the country.

It was a remark too ſingular to eſcape notice that, except in the neighbourhood of the *Po-yang* lake, the peaſantry of the province in which the capital ſtands were more miſerable, their houſes more mean and wretched, and their lands in a worſe ſtate of cultivation, than in any other part of the route—a remark which alſo agrees with the accounts given by the Dutch embaſſy of that part of *Pe-tche-lee*, on the ſouth-weſt ſide of the capital, through which they paſſed. Four mud walls covered over with a thatch of reeds, or the ſtraw of millet, or the ſtems of holcus, compoſe their habitations; and they are moſt commonly ſurrounded with clay walls, or with a fence made of the ſtrong ſtems of the *Holcus Sorghum*. A partition of matting divides the hovel into two apartments; each of which has a ſmall opening in the wall to admit the air and light; but one door generally ſerves as an entrance, the cloſure of which is frequently nothing more than a ſtrong mat. A blue cotton jacket and a pair of trowſers, a ſtraw hat and ſhoes of the ſame material, conſtitute the dreſs of the majority of the people. Matting of reeds or bamboo, a cylindrical pillow of wood covered with leather, a kind of rug or felt blanket made of the hairy wool of the broad-tailed ſheep, not ſpun and woven but beat together as in the proceſs for making hats, and ſometimes a mattreſs ſtuffed with wool, hair, or ſtraw, conſtitute their bedding. Two or three jars, a few baſons of earthen-ware of the coarſeſt kind, a large iron pot, a frying-pan and a portable

ſtove, are the chief articles of furniture. Chairs and tables are not neceſſary; both men and women ſit on their heels; and in this poſture they ſurround the great iron pot, with each a baſon in his hands, when they take their meals. The poverty of their food was ſufficiently indicated by their meagre appearance. It conſiſts chiefly of boiled rice, millet, or other grain, with the addition of onions or garlic, and mixed ſometimes with a few other vegetables that, by way of reliſh, are fried in rancid oil, extracted from a variety of plants, ſuch as the *Seſſamum*, *Braſſica orientalis*, *Cytiſus Cadjan*, a ſpecies of *Dolichos*, and, among others, from the ſame ſpecies of *Ricinus* or *Palma-Chriſti*, from which the Caſtor is drawn, and uſed only in Europe as a powerful purgative. Its draſtic qualities may probably be diminiſhed by applying leſs preſſure in extracting the oil, or by habit, or by uſing it freſh, as it does not appear that the Chineſe ſuffer any inconvenience in its application to culinary purpoſes. As well as I could underſtand, the ſeeds were firſt bruiſed and then boiled in water, and the oil that floated on the ſurface was ſkimmed off. Our Florence oil they affected not to admire having, as they ſaid, no taſte. The Chineſe, like the inhabitants of the South of Europe, ſeem to attach a higher value on oils, in proportion as age has given to them a higher degree of rancidity.

Fiſh of any kind, in this part of the country, is a great rarity; few are caught in the rivers of *Pe-tche-lee*. We met with none in the whole province, except at *Tien-ſing* and in the capital, whoſe market, no doubt, like that of London, draws to its centre the choice products of a very extenſive circuit. Salt and dried

dried fiſh, it is true, are brought from the ſouthward as articles of commerce, but the poor peaſantry cannot afford to purchaſe them for general uſe. They obtain them only ſometimes by bartering millet or vegetables in exchange. A morſel of pork to reliſh their rice is almoſt the only kind of meat that the poor can afford to taſte. They have little milk and neither butter, nor cheeſe, nor bread; articles of nouriſhment to which, with potatoes, the peaſantry of Europe owe their chief ſupport. Boiled rice, indeed, and not bread, is conſidered as an article of the firſt neceſſity, the ſtaff of life in China. Hence the monoſyllable *fan*, which ſignifies boiled rice, enters into every compound that implies eating; thus *tche-fan*, the name of a meal in general, is to eat rice; breakfaſt is called the *tſao-fan* or morning rice, and ſupper the *ouan-fan* or evening rice. Their principal and indeed their beſt beverage is bad tea, boiled over and over again as long as any bitter remains in the leaves, taken without milk or ſugar, or any other ingredient except, in cold weather, a little ginger. In this weak ſtate the only purpoſe it ſeems to anſwer is that of carrying down the ſediment of muddy water that abounds in all the flat provinces of China, which the leaves of tea (as I fancy thoſe of any other plant would) are found to do. Theſe poor creatures, however, are inſtructed by popular opinion to aſcribe to it many extraordinary qualities *.

It

* The ſimple boiling of the water indeed contributes greatly to the quick depoſition of earthy particles, which may have been one cauſe of the univerſal practice of drinking every thing warm in China. They were ſurpriſed to ſee our ſoldiers and ſervants drinking the water of the Pei-ho cold, and told them it was very bad for the ſtomach and bowels. This complaint, in fact, attacked almoſt all the inferior

It would require a more familiar acquaintance with the people and a longer reſidence among them, than was allowed to us, to explain the true reaſon of ſuch real poverty among the peaſantry in the vicinity of the capital. Perhaps, indeed, it may be owing, in a great degree, to the proximity of the court, which in all countries has the effect of drawing together a crowd of people to conſume the products of the ſoil, without contributing any portion of labour towards their production. The encouragement that is here given to idleneſs and diſſipation is but too apt to entice the young peaſantry in the neighbourhood from their houſes, and thus rob the country of its beſt hands. The ſoil, likewiſe, near the capital is barren and ſandy, producing few ſupplies beyond the wants of the ſeveral tenants; and all other neceſſaries of life not raiſed by them muſt be purchaſed extravagantly dear. It is, indeed, ſurprizing how this immenſe city, ſaid to contain three millions of inhabitants, is contrived to be ſupplied at any rate, conſidering the very ſterile and unproductive ſtate of the country for many miles around it. It might not, however, be a matter of leſs aſtoniſhment to a Chineſe, nor leſs difficult for him to conceive, in what manner our own capital receives its daily ſupplies, eſpecially after he had obſerved that there is not a ſingle road, by which Lon-

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part of the embaſſy, which Doctor Gillan did not heſitate to aſcribe to the great impurity of the water. But the Chineſe argued the point with the Doctor with regard to taking it cold, aſking him why all the fluids of the body were warm, if nature had intended us to drink water and other liquids in a cold ſtate! They ſeemed to have forgotten that all the warm-blooded animals, except man, muſt neceſſarily drink cold water.

don can be approached, that is not carried over vaſt tracts of uncultivated commons and waſte grounds.

The vallies of Tartary furniſh beeves and broad-tailed ſheep for Pekin, and grain is brought by water from every part of the country, of which the government takes the precaution to lay up in ſtore a ſufficient quantity for a twelvemonth's conſumption. Of animal food, pork is moſtly conſumed. Few peaſants are without their breed of hogs; theſe animals, indeed, are likewiſe kept in large cities, where they become public nuiſances. Bad beef in Pekin ſells for about ſix-pence the pound; mutton and pork eight-pence; lean fowls and ducks from two to three ſhillings; eggs are generally about one penny each; ſmall loaves of bread that are boiled in ſteam, without yeaſt or leaven, are about four-pence a pound; rice ſells uſually at three-halfpence or two-pence the pound; wheat flour at two-pence halfpenny or three-pence; fine tea from twelve to thirty ſhillings a pound; that of the former price, at leaſt ſuch as was procured clandeſtinely for us, not drinkable, and the latter not near ſo good as that of about ſix ſhillings in London *. There are, indeed, plenty of tea-houſes in and near the capital, where the labouring people may purchaſe their cup of tea for two ſmall copper coin (not quite a farthing) but it is miſerably bad. A tolerable horſe and a man-ſlave are uſually about the ſame price, being from fifteen to twenty ounces of

* As theſe teas however were purchaſed by Chineſe, I have no doubt they reſerved to themſelves a very large profit on the commiſſion, for it is ſcarcely poſſible that this article, the growth and produce of the middle provinces, ſhould bear a price ſo far beyond what the very beſt ſells for in London.

ſilver. The article of dreſs worn by the common people is not very expenſive. The peaſantry are invariably clad in cotton; and this article is the produce of moſt of the provinces. The complete dreſs of a peaſant is about fifteen ſhillings; of a common tradeſman three pounds; an officer of government's common dreſs ten pounds; of ceremony about thirty pounds; and if enriched with embroidery and gold and ſilver tiſſue, between two and three hundred pounds: a pair of black ſatin boots twenty ſhillings; and a cap or bonnet about the ſame ſum. The price of labour, however, and particularly in Pekin, bears no ſort of proportion to the price of proviſions. A mechanic in this city thinks himſelf well paid if he gets a ſhilling a-day. A common weaver, joiner, or other tradeſman earns a bare ſubſiſtence for his family; and the beſt ſervants may be hired for an ounce of ſilver a-month. Many are glad to give their ſervices in exchange for their ſubſiſtence, without any conſideration in hard money. Tobacco being an indiſpenſable article for all ranks of every age and ſex bears of courſe a high price in the capital. It is ſingular enough, that this plant ſhould have found its way into every part of the world, among ſavage as well as civilized nations, even into the deſerts of Africa, where it was found in conſtant uſe among the Booſhuanas, a people, till very lately, totally unknown; and it is equally ſingular, that an herb of ſo diſagreeable a taſte ſhould, by habit, obtain an aſcendency ſo far over the appetite, as not eaſily to be relinquiſhed.

The climate of the northern provinces is unfavourable to the poor peaſantry. The ſummers are ſo warm that they go nearly

nearly naked and the winters ſo ſevere that, what with their poor and ſcanty fare, their want of fuel, clothing, and even ſhelter, thouſands are ſaid to periſh from cold and hunger. In ſuch a condition the ties of nature ſometimes yield to ſelf-preſervation, and children are ſold to ſave both the parent and offſpring from periſhing for want; and infants become a prey to hopeleſs indigence. We have ſeen in the notes taken by the gentleman in the Dutch embaſſy, how low the temperature is at Pekin in the winter months; and they have no coals nearer than the mountains of Tartary, which are all brought on the backs of dromedaries; of courſe, they are extravagantly dear. In fact, they are ſcarcely ever burned pure, but are crumbled to duſt and mixed up with earth, in which ſtate they give out a very ſtrong heat, but no flame, and are ſuitable enough for their ſmall cloſe ſtoves.

Although it is a principle of the Chineſe government to admit of no diſtinctions among its ſubjects, except thoſe that learning and office confer; and although the moſt rigid ſumptuary laws have been impoſed to check that tendency to ſhew and ſplendor, which wealth is apt to aſſume; and to bring as much as poſſible on a level, at leaſt in outward appearance, all conditions of men; yet, with regard to diet, there is a wider difference perhaps between the rich and the poor of China, than in any other country. That wealth which, if permitted, would be expended in flattering the vanity of its poſſeſſors, is now applied in the purchaſe of dainties to pamper the appetite. Their famous *Gin-ſing*, a name ſignifying *the life of man* (the *Panax quinquefolium* of Linnæus) on account of its ſuppoſed invigorating

rating and aphrodiſiac qualities was, for a length of time, weighed againſt gold. The ſinewy parts of ſtags and other animals, with the fins of ſharks, as productive of the ſame effects, are purchaſed by the wealthy at enormous prices: and the neſts that are conſtructed by ſmall ſwallows on the coaſts of Cochinchina, Cambodia, and other parts of the Eaſt, are dearer even than ſome kinds of *Gin-ſing*. Moſt of the plants that grow on the ſea-ſhore are ſuppoſed to poſſeſs an invigorating quality, and are, therefore, in conſtant uſe as pickles or preſerves, or ſimply dried and cut into ſoups in the place of other vegetables. The leaves of one of theſe, apparently a ſpecies of that genus of ſea-weed called by botaniſts *fucus*, after being gathered, are ſteeped in freſh water and hung up to dry. A ſmall quantity of this weed boiled in water gives to it the conſiſtence of a jelly, and when mixed with a little ſugar, the juice of an orange, or other fruit, and ſet by to cool, I know of no jelly more agreeable or refreſhing. The leaf is about ſix inches long, narrow and pointed, deeply ſerrated, and the margins ciliated; the middle part ſmooth, ſemi-tranſparent, and of a leathery conſiſtence. The Chineſe call it *Chin-chou*.

The great officers of ſtate make uſe of theſe and various other gelatinous viands for the purpoſe of acquiring, as they ſuppoſe, a proper degree of corpulency*, which is conſidered by

* An old Frenchman (*Coſſigny*) but a diſciple of the new ſchool, has found out that the Chineſe are in poſſeſſion of a new ſcience, the exiſtence of which was not even ſuſpected by the enlightened nations of Europe. As he has the merit of making this wonderful diſcovery, it is but fair to announce it in his own words: " Je " penſe que nous devrions prendre chez eux (les Chinois) les premiers elemens de la " *ſper-*

by them as reſpectable and impoſing upon the multitude; of a great portion of whom it may be obſerved, as Falſtaff ſaid of his company, " No eye hath ſeen ſuch ſcare-crows." It would be rare to find, among the commonalty of China, one to compare with a porter-drinking citizen or a jolly-looking farmer of England. They are indeed naturally of a ſlender habit of body and a ſickly appearance, few having the bluſh of health upon their cheeks. The tables of the great are covered with a vaſt variety of diſhes, conſiſting moſtly of ſtews of fiſh, fowl and meat, ſeparately and jointly, with proper proportions of vegetables and ſauces of different kinds. Their beverage conſiſts of tea and whiſkey. In ſipping this ardent ſpirit, made almoſt boiling hot, eating paſtry and fruits, and ſmoking the pipe, they ſpend the greateſt part of the day, beginning from the moment they riſe and continuing till they go to bed. In hot weather they ſleep in the middle of the day, attended by two ſervants, one to fan away the flies and the other to keep them cool.

The province of *Pe-tche-lee* embraces an extent of climate from 38° to 40½° of north latitude. The temperature is very

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" *ſpermatologie*, ſcience toute nouvelle pour l'Europe, ſcience qui intéreſſe l'humanité " en général, en lui procurant des jouiſſances qui l'attachent à ſon exiſtence, en en- " tretenant la ſanté et la vigeur, en réparant l'abus des excès, en contribuant à l'aug- " mentation de la population. Il ſeroit digne de la ſollicitude des gouvernemens de " s'occuper des recherches qui pourroient donner des connoiſſances ſur une ſcience " à peine ſoupçonnée des peuples éclairés de l'Europe." He then announces his knowledge in preparing " des petites paſtilles qui ſont aphrodiſiaques et qui convien- " nent ſur-tout aux veillards, et à ceux qui ont fait des excès :" and he concludes with the mortifying intelligence that he is not permitted to reveal the important ſecret, " qui intéreſſe l'humanité en general."

various. In ſummer Fahrenheit's thermometer is generally above 80° during the day, ſometimes exceeding 90°; and, in the middle of winter, it remains for many days together below the freezing point, deſcending occaſionally to zero or 0. But it generally enjoys a clear pure atmoſphere throughout the whole year.

In the practical part of agriculture, in this province, we obſerved little to attract attention or to commend. The farmer gets no more than one crop off the ground in a ſeaſon, and this is generally one of the ſpecies of millets already mentioned, or holcus, or wheat; but they ſometimes plant a *dolichos* or bean between the rows of wheat, which ripens after the latter is cut down. They have no winter crops, the hard froſty weather uſually ſetting in towards the end of November and continuing till the end of March. The three different modes of ſowing grain, by drilling, dibbling, and broadcaſt, are all in uſe but chiefly the firſt, as being the moſt expeditious and the crop moſt eaſy to be kept free from weeds; the laſt is rarely practiſed on account of the great waſte of ſeed; and dibbling is uſed only in ſmall patches of ground near the houſes when they aim at neatneſs. The ſoil, being in general looſe and ſandy and free from ſtones, is worked without much difficulty, but it ſeemed to require a good deal of manure; and this neceſſary article from the paucity of domeſtic animals is extremely ſcarce. Very few ſheep or cattle were obſerved, yet there was an abundance of land that did not ſeem for many years to have felt the ploughſhare.

The

The draught cattle moſt generally in uſe are oxen, mules, and aſſes. Horſes are ſcarce and of a ſmall miſerable breed, incapable of much work; a remark, indeed, which will apply to every province of the empire; though thoſe of Tartary, which compoſed the Emperor's ſtud, according to the Embaſſador's deſcription, were not wanting in point of ſize, beauty, or ſpirit. No pains, however, are beſtowed to effect, nor do they ſeem to be ſenſible of the advantages to be derived from, an improvement in the breed of cattle. Nor indeed is any care taken of the bad breed which they already poſſeſs. It would be ſuppoſed that, where a regular eſtabliſhment of cavalry is kept up to an amount that ſeems almoſt incredible, ſome attention would be paid to the nature and condition of their horſes. This, however, is not the caſe. A Scotch poney, wild from the mountains, which has never felt the teeth of a currycomb and whoſe tail and mane are clotted together with dirt, is in fit condition to join a regiment of Tartar cavalry. Thoſe kept by men in office are equally neglected. The Chineſe have no idea that this noble animal requires any attention beyond that of giving him his food; and of this, in general, he receives a very ſcanty portion.

That part of the province of *Shan-tung* through which we travelled exhibited a greater variety of culture than *Pe-tche-lee*; but the ſurface of the northern parts eſpecially was equally uniform. The ſoil, conſiſting generally of mud and ſlime brought apparently by the inundations of rivers, contained not a ſingle pebble. The ſeaſon was too late to form any eſtimate of the crops produced upon the immenſe plains of *Shan-tung*;

but the young crops of wheat, ſtanding at this time (the middle of October) a few inches above the ground, looked extremely well. Little waſte ground occurred, except the footpaths and the channels which ſerved as diviſion marks of property. Some attempts indeed were here made at the diviſion of grounds by hedge-rows, but with little ſucceſs; the plant they had adopted, the *Palma Chriſti*, was ill-ſuited for ſuch a purpoſe. As we advanced to the ſouthward, in this province, the proportion of wheat under cultivation diminiſhed, and its place was employed by plantations of cotton, whoſe pods were now ripe and burſting. The plant was low and poor in growth, but the branches were laden with pods. Like the wheat it was planted or dibbled in rows. The cotton produced the ſecond year was ſaid to be conſidered as equally good with that of the firſt, but being found to degenerate the third year, it was then rooted out and the ground prepared for freſh ſeed *.

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* In the tenth volume of a very extenſive agricultural work, is detailed the whole proceſs of cultivating the cotton from the ſeed to the web. The author obſerves, "The cotton in its raw ſtate affords a light and pleaſant lining for clothes; the ſeed "yields an oil, which, being expreſſed from them, the remainder is ſerviceable as "manure; the capſules or pods, being hard and woody, are uſed for firing, and the "leaves afford nouriſhment to cattle, ſo that every part of the vegetable may be appropriated to ſome uſeful purpoſe.

"The ſoil moſt favourable to this plant is a white ſand, with a ſmall proportion of "clay or loam. The plant affects an elevated open ſituation, and cannot endure low "marſhy grounds.

"After all the cotton pods are gathered, the remaining ſtems and branches "ſhould be cleared away without loſs of time, and the ground carefully ploughed up, "to expoſe a new ſurface to the air and renew the vigour of the ſoil.

"When the plough has paſſed through the ground three times, the earth ſhould be "raked level, that the wind may not raiſe or dry up any part of it.

"—— When

The ſouthern parts of *Shan-tung* are compoſed of mountains and ſwamps. Here, lakes of various magnitudes occur and large tracts of country ſimilar to thoſe which are known to us by the name of peat-moſs. In ſuch places the population could not be expected to be exceſſive; and, accordingly, we met with few inhabitants, except thoſe who ſubſiſted their families by fiſhing. So great were the numbers engaged in this employment, who lived entirely in floating veſſels, that we judged

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" ——— When there is an abundance of manure, it may be laid on previous to " the uſe of the plough, but if it be ſcarce, &c. it will be preferable to apply it to the " ſoil at the time of ſowing the ſeed.

" The manure ſhould be old and well prepared, and among the beſt ingredients for " the purpoſe, is the refuſe of vegetable ſubſtances, from which an oil has been ex- " preſſed.

" In the ſouthern provinces the cotton plant will laſt for two or three years, but to " the northward the ſeed muſt be ſown annually."

The author then enumerates nine diſtinct varieties and their comparative qualities; after which he proceeds to the choice of ſeed, under which head he obſerves, that if the ſeed be ſteeped in water, in which *eels* have been boiled, the plant will reſiſt the attack of inſects. He then deſcribes the three methods of broadcaſt, drilling, and dibbling, and gives a decided preference of the laſt, though it be the moſt laborious.

" The ground being well prepared, holes are to be made at the diſtance of a cubit " from each other, and the lines a cubit apart. A little water is firſt to be poured " in, and then four or five ſeeds, after which each hole is to be covered with a mix- " ture of ſoil and manure, and firmly trodden down with the foot. In the other " methods a roller is to be uſed."

The next proceſs is weeding, looſening, and breaking fine the earth.—He then obſerves, " After the plants have attained ſome degree of ſtrength and ſize, the moſt " advanced and perfect plant ſhould be ſelected, and all the reſt rooted out, for if two " or more be ſuffered to riſe together, they will increaſe in height without giving la- " teral ſhoots; the leaves will be large and luxuriant, but the pods will be few." He next proceeds to the pruning of the plants to make them bear copiouſly—gathering the pods—preparing and ſpinning the wool—weaving the cloth.—This abridged account I have given to ſhew, that they are not deficient in writings of this kind.

the

the waters to be fully as populous as the land. No rent is exacted by the government, nor toll, nor tythe, nor licence-money for permiſſion to catch fiſh; nor is there any ſort of impediment againſt the free uſe of any lake, river or canal whatſoever. The gifts that nature has beſtowed are cautiouſly uſurped by any power, even in this deſpotic government, for individual uſe or profit; but are ſuffered to remain the free property of all who may chuſe by their labour to derive advantage from them. But even this free and unreſtrained uſe is barely ſufficient to procure for them the neceſſaries, much leſs any of the comforts, of life. The condition of the peaſantry, in the northern parts of this province, was much more deſirable. Their clothing was decent; their countenances cheerful, indicating plenty; and their dwellings were built of bricks or wood, appearing more ſolid and comfortable than thoſe of the province in which the capital is ſituated. But the poor fiſhermen carried about with them unequivocal marks of their poverty. Their pale meagre looks are aſcribed to the frequent, and almoſt excluſive, uſe of fiſh; which is ſuppoſed to give them a ſcrophulous habit of body. Their endeavours, however, are not wanting to correct any acid or unwholeſome humours that this ſort of diet may produce, by the abundant uſe of onions and garlic, which they cultivate even upon the waters. Having no houſes on ſhore, nor ſtationary abode, but moving about in their veſſels upon the extenſive lakes and rivers, they have no inducement to cultivate patches of ground, which the purſuits of their profeſſion might require them to leave for the profit of another; they prefer, therefore, to plant their onions on rafts of bamboo, well interwoven with reeds and ſtrong graſs and covered

covered with earth; and theſe floating gardens are towed after their boats.

The women aſſiſt in dragging the net and other operations of taking fiſh; but the younger part of the family are ſometimes employed in breeding ducks. Theſe ſtupid birds here acquire an aſtoniſhing degree of docility. In a ſingle veſſel are ſometimes many hundreds which, like the cattle of the Kaffers in ſouthern Africa, on the ſignal of a whiſtle leap into the water, or upon the banks to feed; and another whiſtle brings them back. Like the ancient Egyptians, they uſe artificial means of hatching eggs, by burying them in ſand at the bottom of wooden boxes, and placing them on plates of iron kept moderately warm by ſmall furnaces underneath. Thus the old birds which, provided they hatched their eggs themſelves, would only produce one brood, or at moſt two, in the courſe of the year, continue to lay eggs almoſt every month. Hogs are alſo kept in many of the fiſhing craft. In fact, ducks and hogs affording the moſt ſavory meat, moſt abounding in fat and, it may be added, beſt able to ſubſiſt themſelves, are eſteemed above all other animals. The ducks being ſplit open, ſalted, and dried in the ſun, are exchanged for rice or other grain. In this ſtate we found them an excellent reliſh; and, at our requeſt, they were plentifully ſupplied during the whole progreſs through the country.

The province of *Shan-tung* extends in latitude from thirty-four and a half to thirty-eight degrees. The mean temperature, from the 19th of October to the 29th of the ſame month, was

was about fifty-two degrees at ſun-riſe, to ſeventy degrees at noon. A conſtant clear and cloudleſs ſky.

The numerous canals and rivers, that in every direction interſect the province of *Kiang-nan*, and by which it is capable of being flooded to any extent in the dryeſt ſeaſons, render it one of the moſt valuable and fertile diſtricts in the whole empire. Every part of it, alſo, having a free communication with the Yellow Sea by the two great rivers, the *Whang-ho* and the *Yang-tſe-kiang*, it has always been conſidered as the central point for the home trade; and, at one time, its chief city Nankin was the capital of the empire. That beautiful and durable cotton of the ſame name is here produced and ſent to the port of Canton; from whence it is ſhipped off to the different parts of the world. The Chineſe rarely wear it in its natural colour, except as an article of mourning; but export it chiefly, taking in return vaſt quantities of unmanufactured white cotton from Bengal and Bombay, finding they can purchaſe this foreign wool at a much cheaper rate than that at which the nankin ſells. For mourning dreſſes and a few other purpoſes white cotton is made uſe of, but in general it is dyed black or blue: among ſome of our preſents were alſo pieces of a beautiful ſcarlet. Near moſt of the plantations of cotton we obſerved patches of indigo; a plant which grows freely in all the middle and ſouthern provinces. The dye of this ſhrub being no article of commerce in China is ſeldom, if ever, prepared in a dry ſtate, but is generally employed to communicate its colouring matter from the leaves, to avoid the labour and the loſs that would be required to reduce it to a ſolid ſubſtance.

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We obſerved that, in the cotton countries, almoſt every cottage had its garden of indigo. As in ancient times, in our own country, when every cottager brewed his own beer; kept his own cow for milk and butter; bred his own ſheep, the wool of which being ſpun into yarn by his own family was manufactured into cloth by the pariſh weaver; and when every peaſant raiſed the materials for his own web of hempen cloth; ſo it ſtill appears to be the caſe in China. Here there are no great farmers nor monopoliſts of grain; nor can any individual nor body of men, by any poſſibility, either glut the market, or withhold the produce of the ground, as may beſt ſuit their purpoſe. Each peaſant is ſuppoſed, by his induſtry, to have the means of ſubſiſtence within himſelf; though it often happens that theſe means, from adverſe circumſtances which hereafter will be noticed, fail of producing the deſired effect.

In the province of *Kiang-nan* each grows his own cotton; his wife and children ſpin it into thread and it is woven into a web in his own houſe, ſometimes by his own family, but more frequently by others hired for the purpoſe. A few bamboos conſtitute the whole machinery required for this operation. Money he has none; but his produce he can eaſily barter for any little article of neceſſity or luxury. The ſuperfluities of life, which thoſe in office may have occaſion to purchaſe, are paid for in bars of ſilver without any impreſſion, but bearing value for weight, like the Roman *as* or the Hebrew *ſhekel*. The only coin in circulation is the *Tchen*, a piece of ſome inferior metal mixed with a ſmall proportion of copper, of the value of the thouſandth part of an ounce of ſilver; with this ſmall piece of money the

little and conſtantly demanded neceſſaries of life are purchaſed, ſuch as could not conveniently be obtained by way of barter. Silver is rarely lent out at intereſt, except between mercantile men in large cities. The legal intereſt is twelve per cent. but it is commonly extended to eighteen, ſometimes even to thirty-ſix. To avoid the puniſhment of uſury, what is given above twelve per cent. is in the ſhape of a *bonus*. "Uſury, in China," obſerves Lord Macartney, "like gaming elſewhere, is a diſho-"nourable mode of getting money; but by a ſort of compact "between neceſſity and avarice, between affluence and diſtreſs, "the proſecution of a Jew or a ſharper is conſidered by us as "not very honourable even in the ſufferers."

The greater the diſtance from the capital, the better was the apparent condition of the people. The Viceroy, when he received his Excellency on the entry of the embaſſy into this province, happened to caſt his eye upon the half-ſtarved and half-naked trackers of the boats; and being either aſhamed of their miſerable appearance, or feeling compaſſion for their ſituation, he ordered every man immediately a ſuit of new cloaths. In the morning, when our force was muſtered, we were not a little ſurprized to ſee the great alteration that had taken place in the appearance of our trackers: every man had a blue cotton jacket edged with red, a pair of new white trowſers, and a ſmart hat with a high crown and feather. The natural fertility of the country, its central ſituation commanding a briſk trade, the abundance of its fiſheries on the large rivers and lakes were incentives to induſtry, for the vaſt population that ſeemed to be equally diſtributed over every part of the province.

Rice being the ſtaple of China was abundantly cultivated, in all ſuch places as afforded the greateſt command of water. The uſual average produce of corn-lands is reckoned to be from ten to fifteen for one; and of rice, from twenty-five to thirty; commonly about thirty. Thoſe corn-lands that will admit of eaſy irrigation are uſually turned over with the plough immediately after the grain is cut; which, in the middle provinces, is ready for the ſickle early in June, about the ſame time that the young rice fields ſtand at the height of eight or ten inches. Theſe being now thinned, the young plants are tranſplanted into the prepared wheat lands, which are then immediately flooded. Upon ſuch a crop they reckon from fifteen to twenty for one. Inſtead of rice one of the millets is ſometimes ſown as an after-crop, this requiring very little water, or the *Cadjan*, a ſpecies of *Dolichos* or ſmall bean, for oil, requiring ſtill leſs. Or, it is a common practice, after taking off a crop of cotton and indigo, in the month of October, to ſow wheat, in order to have the land again clear in the month of May or June. Such a ſucceſſion of crops, without ever ſuffering the land to lie fallow, ſhould ſeem to require a large quantity of manure. In fact, they ſpare no pains in procuring compoſts and manures; but they alſo accompliſh much without theſe materials, by working the ſoil almoſt inceſſantly and mixing it with extraneous matters as, for inſtance, marle with light and ſandy ſoils, or if this is not to be had, ſtiff clay; and on clayey grounds they carry ſand and gravel. They alſo drag the rivers and canals and pools of water for ſlime and mud; and they preſerve, with great care, all kinds of urine, in which it

is an univerſal practice to ſteep the ſeeds previous to their being ſown. If turnip-ſeeds be ſteeped in lime and urine, the plant is ſaid not to be attacked by the inſect. Near all the houſes are large earthen jars ſunk in the ground, for collecting and preſerving theſe and other materials that are convertible, by putrefactive fermentation, into manure. Old men and children may be ſeen near all the villages with ſmall rakes and baſkets, collecting every kind of dirt, or offals, that come in their way. Their eagerneſs to pick up whatever may be uſed as manure led to ſome ridiculous ſcenes. Whenever our barges halted and the ſoldiers and ſervants found it neceſſary to ſtep on ſhore, they were always purſued to their place of retirement by theſe collectors of food for vegetables. It may literally be ſaid in this country, that nothing is ſuffered to be loſt. The profeſſion of ſhaving is followed by vaſt numbers in China. As the whole head is ſhaved, except a ſmall lock behind, few, if any, are able to operate upon themſelves. And as hair is conſidered an excellent manure, every barber carries with him a ſmall bag to collect the ſpoils of his razor.

The common plough of the country is a ſimple machine and much inferior to the very worſt of ours. We ſaw one drill plough in *Shan-tung* different from all the reſt. It conſiſted of two parallel poles of wood, ſhod at the lower extremities with iron to open the furrows; theſe poles were placed on wheels: a ſmall hopper was attached to each pole to drop the ſeed into the furrows, which were covered with earth by a tranſverſe piece of wood fixed behind, that juſt ſwept the ſurface of the ground.

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The machine uſually employed for clearing rice from the huſk, in the large way, is exactly the ſame as that now uſed in Egypt for the ſame purpoſe, only that the latter is put in motion by oxen and the former commonly by water. This machine conſiſts of a long horizontal axis of wood, with cogs or projecting pieces of wood or iron fixed upon it, at certain intervals, and it is turned by a water-wheel At right angles to this axis are fixed as many horizontal levers as there are circular rows of cogs; theſe levers act on pivots, that are faſtened into a low brick wall built parallel to the axis, and at the diſtance of about two feet from it. At the further extremity of each lever, and perpendicular to it, is fixed a hollow peſtle, directly over a large mortar of ſtone or iron ſunk into the ground; the other extremity extending beyond the wall, being preſſed upon by the cogs of the axis in its revolution, elevates the peſtle, which by its own gravity falls into the mortar. An axis of this kind ſometimes gives motion to fifteen or twenty levers. This machine *, as well as the plough, ſtill in uſe in modern Egypt, which is alſo the ſame as the Chineſe plough, have been conſidered by a member of the French Inſtitute to be the ſame inſtruments as thoſe employed in that country two thouſand years ago; and judging from the maxims of the Chineſe government, and the character of the people, an antiquity equally great may be aſſigned to them in the latter country. The bamboo wheel for raiſing water, or ſomething approaching very near to it, either with buckets appended to the circumference, or with fellies hollowed out ſo as to ſcoop up water, was alſo in

* See the plate facing page 37.

uſe

uſe among the ancient Egyptians; and, as I have before obſerved, continue to be ſo among the Syrians; from theſe they are ſuppoſed to have paſſed into Perſia, where they are alſo ſtill employed, and from whence they have derived, in Europe, the name of Perſian wheels. The chain-pump of China, common in the hands of every farmer, was likewiſe an inſtrument of huſbandry in Egypt.

A very erroneous opinion ſeems to have been entertained in Europe, with regard to the ſkill of the Chineſe in agriculture. Induſtrious they certainly are, in an eminent degree, but their labour does not always appear to be beſtowed with judgment. The inſtruments, in the firſt place, they make uſe of are incapable of performing the operations of huſbandry to the greateſt advantage. In the deepeſt and beſt ſoils, their plough ſeldom cuts to the depth of four inches, ſo that they ſow from year to year upon the ſame ſoil, without being able to turn up new earth, and to bury the worn-out mould to refreſh itſelf. Suppoſing them, however, to be ſupplied with ploughs of the beſt conſtruction, we can ſcarcely conceive that their mules and aſſes and old women, would be equal to the taſk of drawing them.

The advantage that large farms in England poſſeſs over ſmall ones conſiſts principally in the means they afford the tenant of keeping better teams than can poſſibly be done on the latter, and conſequently of making a better *tilth* for the reception of ſeed. The opulent farmer, on the ſame quantity of ground, will invariably raiſe more produce than the cottager can pretend

to

to do. In China nine-tenths of the peaſantry may be conſidered as cottagers, and having few cattle (millions I might add none at all) it can ſcarcely be expected that the whole country ſhould be in the beſt poſſible ſtate of cultivation. As horticulturiſts they may perhaps be allowed a conſiderable ſhare of merit; but, on the great ſcale of agriculture, they are certainly not to be mentioned with many European nations. They have no knowledge of the modes of improvement practiſed in the various breeds of cattle; no inſtruments for breaking up and preparing waſte lands; no ſyſtem for draining and reclaiming ſwamps and moraſſes; though that part of the country over which the grand communication is effected between the two extremities of the empire, abounds with lands of this nature, where population is exceſſive and where the multitudes of ſhipping that paſs and repaſs create a never failing demand for grain and other vegetable products. For want of this knowledge, a very conſiderable portion of the richeſt land, perhaps, in the whole empire, is ſuffered to remain a barren and unprofitable waſte. If an idea may be formed from what we ſaw in the courſe of our journey, and from the accounts that have been given of the other provinces, I ſhould conclude, that one-fourth part of the whole country nearly conſiſts of lakes and low, ſour, ſwampy grounds, which are totally uncultivated: and which, among other reaſons hereafter to be mentioned, may ſerve to explain the frequent famines that occur in a more ſatisfactory way, than by ſuppoſing, with the Jeſuits, that they are owing to the circumſtance of the nations bordering upon them to the weſtward being ſavage and growing no corn. Their ignorance of draining, or their dread of inundations, to which the

the low countries of China, in their preſent ſtate, are ſubject, may perhaps have driven them, in certain ſituations, to the neceſſity of levelling the ſides of mountains into a ſucceſſion of terraces; a mode of cultivation frequently taken notice of by the miſſionaries as unexampled in Europe and peculiar to the Chineſe; whereas it is common in many parts of Europe. The mountains of the *Pays de Vaud*, between *Lauſanne* and *Vevay*, are cultivated in this manner to their ſummits with vines. "This would have been impracticable," ſays Doctor Moore, "on account of the ſteepneſs, had not the proprietors built "ſtrong ſtone walls at proper intervals, one above the other, "which ſupport the ſoil, and from little terraces form the bot-"tom to the top of the mountains." But this method of terracing the hills is not to be conſidered, by any means, as a common practice in China. In our direct route it occurred only twice, and then on ſo ſmall a ſcale as hardly to deſerve notice. The whole territorial right being veſted in the ſovereign, the waſte lands of courſe belong to the crown; but any perſon, by giving notice to the proper magiſtrate, may obtain a property therein, ſo long as he continues to pay ſuch portion of the eſtimated produce as is required to be collected into the public magazines.

When I ſaid that the Chineſe might claim a conſiderable ſhare of merit as horticuluriſts, I meant to confine the obſervation to their ſkill and induſtry of raiſing the greateſt poſſible quantity of vegetables from a given piece of ground. Of the modes practiſed in Europe of improving the quality of fruit, they ſeem to have no juſt notion. Their oranges are naturally good and require

require no artificial means of improvement, but the European fruits, as apples, pears, plums, peaches and apricots are of indifferent quality. They have a common methodof propagating ſeveral kinds of fruit-trees, which of late years has been practiſed with ſucceſs in Bengal. The method is ſimply this: they ſtrip a ring of bark, about an inch in width, from a bearing branch, ſurround the place with a ball of fat earth or loam bound faſt to the branch with a piece of matting; over this they ſuſpend a pot or horn with water having a ſmall hole in the bottom juſt ſufficient to let the water drop, in order to keep the earth conſtantly moiſt; the branch throws new roots into the earth juſt above the place where the ring was ſtripped off; the operation is performed in the ſpring, and the branch is ſawn off and put into the ground at the fall of the leaf; the following year it bears fruit. They have no method of forcing vegetables by artificial heat, or by excluding the cold air and admitting, at the ſame time, the rays of the ſun through glaſs. Their chief merit conſiſts in preparing the ſoil, working it inceſſantly, and keeping it free of weeds.

Upon the whole, if I might venture to offer an opinion with reſpect to the merit of the Chineſe as agriculturiſts, I ſhould not heſitate to ſay that, let as much ground be given to one of their peaſants as he and his family can work with the ſpade, and he will turn that piece of ground to more advantage, and produce from it more ſuſtenance for the uſe of man, than any European whatſoever would be able to do; but, let fifty or one hundred acres of the beſt land in China be given to a farmer, at a mean rent, ſo far from making out of it the value of three rents, on

which our farmers uſually calculate, he would ſcarcely be able to ſupport his family, after paying the expence of labour that would be required to work the farm.

In fact there are no great farms in China. The inhabitants enjoy every advantage which may be ſuppoſed to ariſe from the lands being pretty equally divided among them, an advantage of which the effects might probably anſwer the expectations of thoſe who lean towards ſuch a ſyſtem, were they not counteracted by circumſtances that are not leſs prejudicial, perhaps, to the benefit of the public, than monopolizing farmers are by ſuch perſons ſuppoſed to be in our own country. One of the circumſtances I allude to is the common practice, in almoſt every part of the country, of aſſembling together in towns and villages, between which very frequently the intermediate ſpace of ground has not a ſingle habitation upon it; and the reaſon aſſigned for this cuſtom is the dread of the bands of robbers that infeſt the weak and unprotected parts of the country. The conſequence of ſuch a ſyſtem is, that although the lands adjoining the villages be kept in the higheſt ſtate of cultivation, yet thoſe at a diſtance are ſuffered to remain almoſt uſeleſs; for having no beaſts of burden, it would be an endleſs taſk of human labour to bear the manure that would be required, for ſeveral miles, upon the ground, and its produce from thence back again to the village. That ſuch robbers do exiſt who, in formidable gangs, plunder the peaſantry, is very certain: *She-foo-pao* was watching his grain to prevent its being ſtolen, when he had the misfortune of ſhooting his relation, who had alſo gone out for the ſame purpoſe. They are ſometimes indeed ſo numerous, as

to threaten their moſt populous cities. The frequency of ſuch robberies and the alarm they occaſion to the inhabitants are neither favourable to the high notions that have been entertained of the Chineſe government, nor of the morals of the people. Another, and perhaps the chief, diſadvantage ariſing from landed property being pretty equally divided, will be noticed in ſpeaking of the population and the frequent famines.

The province of *Kiang-nan* extends from about 31° to 34½° of northern latitude; and the mean temperature, according to Fahrenheit's thermometer, from the 30th of October to the 9th of November, was 54° at ſun-riſe and 66° at noon; the ſky uniformly clear.

The province of *Tche-kiang* abounds in lakes and is interſected with rivers and canals like *Kiang-nan*; but the produce, except that of a little rice, is very different, conſiſting principally of ſilk. For feeding the worms that afford this article, all the fertile and beautiful vallies between the mountains, as well as the plains, are covered with plantations of the mulberry-tree. The ſmall houſes, in which the worms are reared, are placed generally in the centre of each plantation; in order that they may be removed as far as poſſible from any kind of noiſe; experience having taught them, that a ſudden ſhout, or the bark of a dog, is deſtructive of the young worms. A whole brood has ſometimes periſhed by a thunder ſtorm. The greateſt attention is, therefore, neceſſary; and, accordingly, they are watched night and day. In fine weather, the young worms are expoſed to the ſun, upon a kind of thin open gauze ſtretched

in wooden frames; and at night they are replaced in the plantation houſes. The trees are pruned from time to time, in order to cauſe a greater quantity and a conſtant ſucceſſion of young leaves. The inhabitants of this province, eſpecially in the cities, are almoſt univerſally clothed in ſilks; this rule among the Chineſe of conſuming, as much as poſſible, the products of their own country, and receiving as little as they can avoid from foreign nations, extends even to the provinces; a practice ariſing out of the little reſpect that, in China, as in ancient Rome, is paid to thoſe concerned in trade and merchandize.

Beſides ſilk *Tche-kiang* produces camphor, tallow from the *Croton*, a conſiderable quantity of tea, oranges, and almoſt all the fruits that are peculiar to the country. Every part of the province appeared to be in the higheſt ſtate of cultivation and the population to be immenſe. Both the raw and manufactured ſilks, nankins and other cotton cloths, were ſold at ſuch low prices in the capital of this province, that it is difficult to conceive how the growers or the manufacturers contrived to gain a livelihood by their labour. But of all others, I am the moſt aſtoniſhed at the ſmall returns that muſt neceſſarily be made to the cultivators of the tea plant. The preparations of ſome of the finer kinds of this article are ſaid to require that every leaf ſhould be rolled ſingly by the hand; particularly ſuch as are exported to the European markets. Beſides this, there are many proceſſes, ſuch as ſteeping, drying, turning, and packing, after it has been plucked off the ſhrub leaf by leaf. Yet the firſt coſt in the tea provinces cannot be more than from four-

pence

pence to two ſhillings a pound, when it is conſidered that the ordinary teas ſtand the Eaſt India Company in no more than eight-pence a pound; and the very beſt only two ſhillings and eight-pence *. Nothing can more clearly point out the patient and unremitting labour of the Chineſe, than the preparation of this plant for the market. It is a curious circumſtance that a body of merchants in England ſhould furniſh employment, as might eaſily be made appear, to more than a million ſubjects of a nation that affects to deſpiſe merchants, and throws every obſtacle in the way of commercial intercourſe.

The mean temperature of *Tche-kiang*, in the middle of November, was from fifty-ſix degrees at ſunriſe, to ſixty-two degrees at noon. The extent from North to South is between the parallels of twenty-eight and thirty-four and a half degrees of northern latitude.

The northern part of *Kiang-ſee* contains the great *Po-yang* lake, and thoſe extenſive ſwamps and moraſſes that ſurround it, and which, as I have already obſerved, may be conſidered as the ſink of China. The middle and ſouthern parts are mountainous. The chief produce is ſugar and oil from the *Camellia Seſanqua* In this province are the principal manufactories of porcelain, whoſe qualities, as I have in a former chapter ob-

* The Eaſt India Company pays from thirteen to ſixty tales per pecul for their teas; ſome tea of a higher price is purchaſed by individuals, but ſeldom or ever by the Company. A tale is ſix ſhillings and eight-pence, and a pecul is one hundred and thirty-three pounds and one third.

ſerved,

ſerved, depend more on the care beſtowed in the preparation and in the ſelection of the materials, than in any ſecret art poſſeſſed by them. There are alſo, in this province, large manufactories of coarſe earthen ware, of tiles, and bricks.

The extent of *Kiang-ſee* is from twenty-eight to thirty degrees, and the temperature, in November, was the ſame as that of the neighbouring province of *Tche-kiang*.

I have now to mention a ſubject on which much has already been written by various authors, but without the ſucceſs of having carried conviction into the minds of their readers, that the things which they offered as facts were either true or poſſible; I allude to the populouſneſs of this extenſive empire. That none of the ſtatements hitherto publiſhed are ſtrictly true, I am free to admit, but that the higheſt degree of populouſneſs that has yet been aſſigned may be poſſible, and even probable, I am equally ready to contend. At the ſame time, I acknowledge that, prepared as we were, from all that we had ſeen and heard and read on the ſubject, for ſomething very extraordinary; yet when the following ſtatement was delivered, at the requeſt of the Embaſſador, by *Chou-ta-gin*, as the abſtract of a cenſus that had been taken the preceding year, the amount appeared ſo enormous as to ſurpaſs credibility. But as we had always found this officer a plain, unaffected, and honeſt man, who on no occaſion had attempted to deceive or impoſe on us, we could not conſiſtently conſider it in any other light than as a document drawn up from authentic materials; its inaccuracy, however,

was

was obvious at a ſingle glance, from the ſeveral ſums being given in round millions. I have added to the table the extent of the provinces, the number of people on a ſquare mile, and the value of the ſurplus taxes remitted to Pekin in the year 1792, as mentioned in the ſeventh chapter.

Provinces.	Population.	Square Miles.	No. on each ſquare Mile.	Surplus taxes remitted to Pekin.
				oz. ſilver.
Pe-tche-lee	38,000,000	58,949	644	3,036,000
Kiang-nan	32,000,000	92,961	344	8,210,000
Kiang-ſee	19,000,000	72,176	263	2,120,000
Tche-kiang	21,000,000	39,150	536	3,810,000
Fo-kien	15,000,000	53,480	280	1,277,000
Houquang { Hou-pee	14,000,000	144,770	187	1,310,000
Houquang { Hou-nan	13,000,000			1,345,000
Ho-nan	25,000,000	65,104	384	3,213,000
Shan-tung	24,000,000	65,104	368	3,600,000
Shan-ſee	27,000,000	55,268	488	3,722,000
Shen-ſee } one	18,000,000	154,008	195	1,700,000
Kan-ſoo } province	12,000,000			340,000
Se-tchuen	27,000,000	166,800	162	670,000
Quang-tung	21,000,000	79,456	264	1,340,000
Quang-ſee	10,000,000	78,250	128	500,000
Yu-nan	8,000,000	107,969	74	210,000
Koei-tchoo	9,000,000	64,554	140	145,000
Totals	333,000,000	1,297,999*	——	36,548,000

* The meaſurement annexed to each of the fifteen ancient provinces was taken from the maps that were conſtructed by a very laborious and, as far as we had an opportunity of comparing them with the country, a very accurate ſurvey, which employed the Jeſuits ten years. I do not pretend to ſay that the areas, as I have given them in the table, are mathematically correct, but the dimenſions were taken with as much care as was deemed neceſſary for the purpoſe, from maps drawn on a large ſcale, of which a very beautiful manuſcript copy is now in his Majeſty's library at Buckingham-houſe, made by a Chineſe, having all the names written in Chineſe and Tartar characters.

Conſidering

Conſidering then the whole ſurface of the Chineſe dominions within the great wall to contain 1,297,999 ſquare miles, or 830,719,360 Engliſh acres, and the population to amount to 333,000,000, every ſquare mile will be found to contain two hundred and fifty-ſix perſons, and every individual might poſſeſs two acres and a half of land. Great Britain is ſuppoſed to average about one hundred and twenty perſons on one ſquare mile, and that to each inhabitant there might be aſſigned a portion of five acres, or to each family five-and-twenty acres. The population of China, therefore, is to that of Great Britain as 256 to 120, or in a proportion ſomewhat greater than two to one; and the quantity of land that each individual in Great Britain might poſſeſs is juſt twice as much as could be allowed to each individual of China. We have only then to enquire if Britain, under the ſame circumſtances as China, be capable of ſupporting twice its preſent population, or which is the ſame thing, if twelve and an half acres of land be ſufficient for the maintenance of a family of five perſons? Two acres of choice land ſown with wheat, under good tillage, may be reckoned to average, after deducting the ſeed, 60 buſhels or 3600 pounds, which every baker knows would yield 5400 pounds of bread, or three pounds a-day to every member of the family for the whole year. Half an acre is a great allowance for a kitchen-garden and potatoe bed. There would ſtill remain ten acres, which muſt be very bad land if, beſides paying the rent and taxes, it did not keep three or four cows; and an induſtrious and managing family would find no difficulty in rearing as many pigs and as much poultry as would be neceſſary for home conſumption,

and

and for the purchaſe of clothing and other indiſpenſable neceſſaries. If then the country was pretty equally partitioned out in this manner; if the land was applied ſolely to produce food for man; if no horſes nor ſuperfluous animals were kept for pleaſure, and few only for labour; if the country was not drained of its beſt hands in foreign trade and in large manufactories; if the carriage of goods for exchanging with other goods was performed by canals and rivers and lakes, all abounding with fiſh; if the catching of theſe fiſh gave employment to a very conſiderable portion of the inhabitants; if the bulk of the people were ſatisfied to abſtain almoſt wholly from animal food, except ſuch as is moſt eaſily procured, that of pigs and ducks and fiſh; if only a very ſmall part of the grain raiſed was employed in the diſtilleries, but was uſed as the ſtaff of life for man; and if this grain was of ſuch a nature as to yield twice, and even three times, the produce that wheat will give on the ſame ſpace of ground; if, moreover, the climate was ſo favourable as to allow two ſuch crops every year—if, under all theſe circumſtances, twelve and a half acres of land would not ſupport a family of five perſons; the fault could only be aſcribed to idleneſs or bad management.

Let us then, for a moment, conſider that theſe or ſimilar advantages operate in China; that every product of the ground is appropriated ſolely for the food and clothing of man; that a ſingle acre of land, ſown with rice, will yield a ſufficient quantity for the conſumption of five people for a whole year, allowing to each perſon two pounds a-day, provided the returns of his crop are from twenty to twenty-five for one, which are conſidered as extremely moderate, being frequently more than

twice this quantity; that in the ſouthern provinces two crops of rice are produced in the year, one acre of which I am well aſſured, with proper culture, will afford a ſupply of that grain even for ten perſons, and that an acre of cotton will clothe two or three hundred perſons, we may juſtly infer that, inſtead of twelve acres to each family, half that quantity would appear to be more than neceſſary; and ſafely conclude, that there is no want of land to ſupport the aſſumed population of three hundred and thirty-three millions. This being the caſe, the population is not yet arrived at a level with the means which the country affords of ſubſiſtence.

There is, perhaps, no country where the condition of the peaſantry may more juſtly be compared with thoſe of China than Ireland. This iſland, according to the lateſt ſurvey, contains about 17,000,000 Engliſh acres, 730,000 houſes and 3,500,000 ſouls; ſo that, as in Great Britain, each individual averages very nearly five acres and every family five-and-twenty. An Iriſh cottager holds ſeldom more than an Iriſh acre of land, or one and three-quarters Engliſh nearly, in cultivation, with a cow's graſs, for which he pays a rent from two to five pounds. Thoſe on Lord Macartney's eſtate at Liſſanore have their acre, which they cultivate in diviſions with oats, potatoes, kale, and a little flax; with this they have beſides the full paſturage of a cow all the year upon a large waſte, not overſtocked, and a comfortable cabin to inhabit, for which each pays the rent of three pounds. The cottager works perhaps three days in the week, at nine-pence a-day; if, inſtead of which, he had a ſecond acre to cultivate, he would derive more benefit from its produce

produce than from the product of his three days' labour *per* week; that is to say, provided he would expend the same labour in its tillage. Thus then, supposing only half of Ireland in a state of cultivation and the other half pasturage, it would support a population more than three times that which it now contains; and as a century ago it had no more than a million of people, so within the present century, under favourable circumstances, it may increase to ten millions. And it is not unworthy of remark, that this great increase of population in Ireland has taken place since the introduction of the potatoe, which gives a never-failing crop.

I am aware that such is not the common opinion which prevails in this country, neither with regard to Ireland nor China; on the contrary, the latter is generally supposed to be overstocked with people; that the land is insufficient for their maintenance, and that the cities stand so thick one after the other, especially along the grand navigation between Pekin and Canton, that they almost occupy the whole surface. I should not, however, have expected to meet with an observation to this effect from the very learned commentator on the *voyage of Nearchus*, founded on no better authority than the crude notes of one *Æneas Anderson*, a livery servant of Lord Macartney, vamped up by a London bookseller as a speculation that could not fail, so greatly excited was public curiosity at the return of the Embassy. I would not be thought to disparage the authority on account of its being that of a livery servant; on the contrary, the notes of the meanest and dullest person, on a country so little travelled over, would be deserving attention before they came into the

hands of a *book-dreſſer*; but what dependence can be placed on the information of an author who ſtates as a fact, that he ſaw tea and rice growing on the banks of the *Pei-ho*, between the thirty-ninth and fortieth parallels of latitude, two articles of the culture of which, in the whole province of *Pe-tche-lee*, they know no more than we do in England; and who ignorantly and impertinently talks of the ſhocking ideas the Chineſe entertained of Engliſh cruelty, on ſeeing one of the guard receive a few laſhes, when, not only the common ſoldiers, but the officers of this nation are flogged moſt ſeverely with the bamboo on every ſlight occaſion. If Doctor Vincent, from reading this book, was really perſuaded that the cities of China were ſo large and ſo numerous, that they left not ground enough to ſubſiſt the inhabitants, I could wiſh to recall his attention for a few moments to this ſubject, as opinions ſanctioned by ſuch high authority, whether right or wrong, are ſure, in ſome degree, to bias the public mind. We have ſeen that if China be allowed to contain three hundred and thirty-three millions of people, the proportion of its population is only juſt double that of Great Britain. Now if London and Liverpool and Birmingham and Glaſgow, and all the cities, towns, villages, gentlemen's villas, farm-houſes and cottages in this iſland were doubled, I ſee no great inconvenience likely to ariſe from ſuch duplication. The unproductive land, in the ſhape of gentlemen's parks and pleaſure grounds, would, I preſume, be much more than ſufficient to counterbalance the quantity occupied by the new erections; and the waſtes and commons would perhaps be more than enough to allow even a ſecond duplication. But the population of an Engliſh city is not to be compared with, or conſidered as ſimilar to, the

populouſneſs of a Chineſe city, as will be obvious by conſidering the two capitals of theſe two empires. Pekin, according to a meaſurement ſuppoſed to be taken with great accuracy, occupies a ſpace of about fourteen ſquare miles. London, with its ſuburbs, when reduced to a ſquare, is ſaid to comprehend about nine ſquare miles. The houſes of Pekin rarely exceed a ſingle ſtory; thoſe of London are ſeldom leſs than four; yet both the Chineſe and the miſſionaries who are ſettled in this capital agree that Pekin contains three millions of people; while London is barely allowed to have one million. The reaſon of this difference is, that moſt of the croſs ſtreets of a Chineſe city are very narrow, and the alleys branching from them ſo confined, that a perſon may place one hand on one ſide and the other on the other ſide as he walks along *; that the houſes in general are very ſmall, and that each houſe contains ſix, eight, or ten perſons, ſometimes twice the number. If, therefore, fourteen ſquare miles of buildings in China contain three millions of inhabitants, and nine ſquare miles of buildings in England one million, the population of a city in China will be to that of a city in England as twenty-ſeven to fourteen, or very nearly as two to one; and the former, with a proportion of inhabitants double to that of the latter, will only have the ſame proportion of buildings; ſo that there is no neceſſity of their being ſo cloſely crowded together, or of their occupying ſo great a portion of land, as to interfere with the quantity neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of the people.

* One of the ſtreets in the ſuburbs of Canton is emphatically called *Squeeze-gut-alley*, which is ſo narrow that every gentleman in the Company's ſervice does not find it quite convenient to paſs.

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I have been thus particular, in order to ſet in its true light a ſubject that has been much agitated and generally diſbelieved. The ſum total of three hundred and thirty-three millions is ſo enormous, that in its aggregate form it aſtoniſhes the mind and ſtaggers credibility; yet we find no difficulty in conceiving that a ſingle ſquare mile in China may contain two hundred and fifty-ſix perſons, eſpecially when we call to our recollection the United Provinces of Holland, which have been calculated to contain two hundred and ſeventy inhabitants on a ſquare mile. And the United Provinces have enjoyed few of the advantages favourable to population, of which China, for ages paſt, has been in the uninterrupted poſſeſſion.

The materials for the ſtatement given by Father Amiot of the population of China appear to have been collected with care. The number of ſouls in 1760, according to this ſtatement was - - - - 196,837,977

In 1761 - - - - 198,214,553

Annual increaſe — 1,376,576

This ſtatement muſt however be incorrect, from the circumſtance of ſome millions of people being excluded who have no fixed habitation, but are conſtantly changing their poſition on the inland navigations of the empire, as well as all the iſlanders of the Archipelago of *Chu-ſan* and of Formoſa. Without, however, taking theſe into conſideration, and by ſuppoſing the number of ſouls in 1761, to amount to 198,214,553, there ought to have been, in the year 1793, by allowing a progreſ-

ſive

ſive increaſe, according to a moderate calculation in political arithmetic, at leaſt 280,000,000 ſouls.

Whether this great empire, the firſt in rank both in extent and population, may or may not actually contain 333 millions of ſouls, is a point that Europeans are not likely ever to aſcertain. That it is capable of ſubſiſting this and a much greater population has, I think, been ſufficiently proved. I know it is a common argument with thoſe who are not willing to admit the fact, that although cities and towns and ſhipping may be crowded together in an aſtoniſhing manner, on and near the grand route between the capital and Canton, yet that the interior parts of the country are almoſt deſerted. By ſome of our party going to *Chu-ſan*, we had occaſion to ſee parts of the country remote from the common road, and ſuch parts happened to be by far the moſt populous in the whole journey. But independent of the ſmall portion of country ſeen by us, the weſtern provinces, which are moſt diſtant from the grand navigation, are conſidered as the granaries of the empire; and the cultivation of much grain, where few cattle and leſs machinery are uſed, neceſſarily implies a correſponding population. Thus we ſee from the above table, that the ſurplus produce of the land remitted to Pekin from the provinces of

		Oz. ſilver.
Honan	remote from the grand navigation, were	3,213,000
Shan-ſee		3,722,000
Shen-ſee		2,040,000
Whilſt thoſe of		
Pe-tche-lee	on thegr and navigation, were	3,036,000
Shan-tung		3,600,000
Tche-kiang		3,810,000

chiefly

chiefly in rice, wheat, and millet. There are no grounds therefore for ſuppoſing that the interior parts of China are deſerts.

There are others again who are perſuaded of the population being ſo enormous, that the country is wholly inadequate to ſupply the means of ſubſiſtence; and that famines are abſolutely neceſſary to keep down the former to the level of the latter. The looſe and general way in which the accounts of the miſſionaries are drawn up certainly leave ſuch an impreſſion; but as I have endeavoured to ſhew that ſuch is far from being the caſe, it may be expected I ſhould alſo attempt to explain the frequency of thoſe diſaſtrous famines which occaſionally commit ſuch terrible havock in this country. I am of opinion then, that three principal reaſons may be aſſigned for them. Firſt, the equal diviſion of the land: Secondly, the mode of cultivation: and Thirdly, the nature of the products.

If, in the firſt place, every man has it in his option to rent as much land as will ſupport his family with food and clothing, he will have no occaſion to go to market for the firſt neceſſities; and ſuch being generally the caſe in China, thoſe firſt neceſſities find no market, except in the large cities. When the peaſant has brought under tillage of grain as much land as may be ſufficient for the conſumption of his own family, and the neceſſary ſurplus for the landlord, he looks no further; and all his neighbours having done the ſame, the firſt neceſſities are, in fact, unſaleable articles, except in ſo far as regards the demands of large cities, which are by no means ſo cloſe upon one

one another as has been imagined. A ſurplus of grain is likewiſe leſs calculated to exchange for ſuperfluities or luxuries than many other articles of produce. This being the caſe, if, by any accident, a failure of the crops ſhould be general in a province, it has no relief to expect from the neighbouring provinces, nor any ſupplies from foreign countries. In China there are no great farmers who ſtore their grain to throw into the market in ſeaſons of ſcarcity. In ſuch ſeaſons the only reſource is that of the government opening its magazines, and reſtoring to the people that portion of their crop which it had demanded from them as the price of its protection. And this being originally only a tenth part, out of which the monthly ſubſiſtence of every officer and ſoldier had already been deducted, the remainder is ſeldom adequate to the wants of the people. Inſurrection and rebellion enſue, and thoſe who may eſcape the devouring ſcourge of famine, in all probability, fall by the ſword. In ſuch ſeaſons a whole province is ſometimes half depopulated; wretched parents are reduced, by imperious want, to ſell or deſtroy their offſpring, and children to put an end, by violence, to the ſufferings of their aged and infirm parents. Thus, the equal diviſion of land, ſo favourable to population in ſeaſons of plenty, is juſt the reverſe when the calamity of a famine falls upon the people.

In the ſecond place, a ſcarcity may be owing to the mode of cultivation. When I mention that two-thirds of the ſmall quantity of land under tillage is cultivated with the ſpade or the hoe, or otherwiſe by manual labour, without the aid of draught-

cattle or ſkilful machinery, it will readily be conceived how very ſmall a portion each family will be likely to employ every year; certainly not one-third part of his average allowance.

The third cauſe of famines may be owing to the nature of the products, particularly to that of rice. This grain, the ſtaff of life in China, though it yields abundant returns in favourable ſeaſons, is more liable to fail than moſt others. A drought in its early ſtages withers it on the ground; and an inundation, when nearly ripe, is equally deſtructive. The birds and the locuſts, more numerous in this country than an European can well conceive, infeſt it more than any other kind of grain. In the northern provinces, where wheat, millet and pulſe are cultivated, famines more rarely happen; and I am perſuaded that if potatoes and Guinea corn (*Zea-Mays*) were once adopted as the common vegetable food of the people, thoſe direful famines that produce ſuch general miſery would entirely ceaſe, and the encreaſe of population be as rapid as that of Ireland. This root in the northern provinces, and this grain in the middle and ſouthern ones, would never fail them. An acre of potatoes would yield more food than an acre of rice, and twice the nouriſhment. Rice is the pooreſt of all grain, if we may judge from the ſlender and delicate forms of all the people who uſe it as the chief article of their ſuſtenance; and potatoes are juſt the contrary *.

* The great advantage of a potatoe crop, as I before obſerved, is the certainty of its ſucceſs. Were a general failure of this root to take place, as ſometimes happens to crops of rice, Ireland, in its preſent ſtate, would experience all the horrors that attend a famine in ſome of the provinces of China.

As

As Dr. Adam Smith obſerves, " The chairmen, porters, and " coal-heavers in London, and thoſe unfortunate women who " live by proſtitution, the ſtrongeſt men and the moſt beau- " tiful women perhaps in the Britiſh dominions, are ſaid to be, " the greater part of them, from the loweſt rank of the people " in Ireland, who are generally fed with this root; no food " can afford a more deciſive proof of its nouriſhing quality, " or of its being peculiarly ſuitable to the health of the human " conſtitution." The Guinea corn requires little or no attention after the ſeed is dropped into the ground; and its leaves and juicy ſtems are not more nouriſhing for cattle than its prolific heads are for the ſuſtenance of man.

Various cauſes have contributed to the populouſneſs of China. Since the Tartar conqueſt it may be ſaid to have enjoyed a profound peace; for in the different wars and ſkirmiſhes that have taken place with the neighbouring nations on the ſide of India, and with the Ruſſians on the confines of Siberia, a few Tartar ſoldiers only have been employed. The Chineſe army is parcelled out as guards for the towns, cities, and villages; and ſtationed at the numberleſs poſts on the roads and canals. Being ſeldom relieved from the ſeveral guards, they all marry and have families. A certain portion of land is allotted for their uſe, which they have ſufficient time to cultivate. As the nation has little foreign commerce there are few ſeamen; ſuch as belong to the inland navigations are moſtly married. Although there be no direct penalty levied againſt ſuch as remain batchelors, as was the caſe among the Romans

when they wiſhed to repair the deſolation that their civil wars had occaſioned, yet public opinion conſiders celibacy as diſgraceful, and a ſort of infamy is attached to a man who continues unmarried beyond a certain time of life. And although in China the public law be not eſtabliſhed of the *Jus trium liberorum*, by which every Roman citizen having three children was entitled to certain privileges and immunities, yet every male child may be provided for, and receive a ſtipend from the moment of his birth, by his name being enrolled on the military liſt. By the equal diviſion of the country into ſmall farms, every peaſant has the means of bringing up his family, if drought and inundation do not fruſtrate his labour; and the purſuits of agriculture are more favourable to health, and conſequently to population, than mechanical employments in crowded cities, and large manufactories, where thoſe who are doomed to toil are more liable to become the victims of diſeaſe and debauchery, than ſuch as are expoſed to the free and open air, and to active and wholeſome labour. In China there are few of ſuch manufacturing cities. No great capitals are here employed in any one branch of the arts. In general each labours for himſelf in his own profeſſion. From the general poverty that prevails among the lower orders of people, the vice of drunkenneſs is little practiſed among them. The multitude, from neceſſity, are temperate in their diet to the laſt degree. The climate is moderate and, except in the northern provinces where the cold is ſevere, remarkably uniform, not liable to thoſe ſudden and great changes in temperature, which the human conſtitution is leſs able to reſiſt, than the extremes

extremes of heat or cold when ſteady and invariable, and from which the inconveniencies are perhaps nowhere ſo ſeverely felt as on our own iſland. Except the ſmall-pox and contagious diſeaſes that occaſionally break out in their confined and crowded cities, they are liable to few epidemical diſorders. The ſtill and inanimate kind of life which is led by the women, at the ſame time that it is ſuppoſed to render them prolific, preſerves them from accidents that might cauſe untimely births. Every woman ſuckles and nurſes her own child.

The operation of theſe and other favourable cauſes that might be aſſigned, in a country that has exiſted under the ſame form of government, and preſerved the ſame laws and cuſtoms for ſo many ages, muſt neceſſarily have created an exceſs of population unknown in moſt other parts of the world, where the ravages of war, ſeveral times repeated in the courſe of a century, or internal commotions, or peſtilential diſeaſe, or the effects of overgrown wealth, ſometimes ſweep away one half of a nation within the uſual period allotted to the life of man.

" What a grand and curious ſpectacle," as Sir George Staunton obſerves, " is here exhibited to the mind of ſo large a pro-
" portion of the whole human race, connected together in one
" great ſyſtem of polity, ſubmitting quietly and through ſo
" conſiderable an extent of country to one great ſovereign; and
" uniform

" uniform in their laws, their manners, and their language; but " differing eſſentially in each of theſe reſpects from every other " portion of mankind; and neither deſirous of communicating " with, nor forming any deſigns againſt, the reſt of the world." How ſtrong an inſtance does China afford of the truth of the obſervation, that men are more eaſily governed by opinion than by power.

CHAP. X.

Journey through the Province of Canton.—Situation of Foreigners trading to this Port.—Concluſion.

Viſible Change in the Character of the People.—Rugged Mountains.—Collieries.—Temple in a Cavern.—Stone Quarries.—Various Plants for Uſe and Ornament.—Arrive at Canton.—Expence of the Embaſſy to the Chineſe Government.—To the Britiſh Nation.—Nature and Inconveniences of the Trade to Canton.—The Armenian and his Pearl.—Impoſitions of the Officers of Government inſtanced.—Principal Cauſe of them is the Ignorance of the Language.—Caſe of Chineſe trading to London.—A Chineſe killed by a Seaman of His Majeſty's Ship Madras.—Delinquent ſaved from an ignominious Death, by a proper Mode of Communication with the Government.—CONCLUSION.

WE had no ſooner paſſed the ſummit of the high mountain *Me-lin*, and entered the province of *Quan-tung*, or Canton, than a very ſenſible difference was perceived in the conduct of the inhabitants. Hitherto the Embaſſy had met with the greateſt reſpect and civility from all claſſes of the natives, but now even the peaſantry ran out of their houſes, as we paſſed, and bawled after us *Queitze-fan-quei*, which, in their language, are opprobrious and contemptuous expreſſions, ſignifying *foreign devils, imps*; epithets that are beſtowed by the enlightened Chineſe on all

all foreigners. It was obvious, that the haughty and inſolent manner in which all Europeans reſiding at, or trading to, the port of Canton are treated, had extended itſelf to the northern frontier of the province, but it had not croſſed the mountain *Me-lin*; the natives of *Kiang-ſee* being a quiet, civil, and inoffenſive people. In *Quan-tung* the farther we advanced, the more rude and inſolent they became. A timely rebuke, however, given to the governor of *Nau-ſheun-foo* by *Van-ta-gin*, for applying the above-mentioned opprobrious epithets to the Britiſh Embaſſy, had a good effect on the Canton officers, who were now to be our conductors through their province.

This contempt of foreigners is not confined to the upper ranks, or men in office, but pervades the very loweſt claſs who, whilſt they make no ſcruple of entering into the ſervice of foreign merchants reſiding in the country, and accepting the moſt menial employments under them, performing the duties of their ſeveral offices with diligence, punctuality, and fidelity, affect, at the ſame time, to deſpiſe their employers, and to conſider them as placed, in the ſcale of human beings, many degrees below them. Having one day obſerved my Chineſe ſervant buſily employed in drying a quantity of tea-leaves, that had already been uſed for breakfaſt, and of which he had collected ſeveral pounds, I inquired what he meant to do with them: he replied, to mix them with other tea and ſell them. "And "is that the way," ſaid I, "in which you cheat your own "countrymen?" "No," replied he, "my own countrymen are "too wiſe to be ſo eaſily cheated, but your's are ſtupid enough "to let us ſerve you ſuch like tricks; and indeed," continued he,

with the greateſt *ſans froid* imaginable, " any thing you get " from us is quite good enough for you." Affecting to be angry with him, he ſaid, " he meant for the *ſecond ſort* of En- " gliſhmen," which is a diſtinction they give to the Americans *.

The city of *Nan-ſheun-foo* was pleaſantly ſituated on the high bank of the river *Pei-kiang-ho*. The houſes appeared to be very old, the ſtreets narrow, large tracts of ground within the walls unbuilt, others covered with ruins. While the barges were preparing to receive on board the baggage, we took up our lodgings in the public temple, that was dedicated to the memory of Confucius, being, at the ſame time, the college where the ſtudents are examined for their different degrees. It conſiſted of a long dark room, divided by two rows of red pillars into a middle and two ſide ailes, without furniture, paintings, ſtatues, or ornaments of any kind, except a few paper lanterns ſuſpended between the pillars; the floor was of earth, and entirely broken up: to us it had more the appearance of a large paſſage or gang-way to ſome manufactory, as a brewhouſe or iron foundery, than of the hall of Confucius. On each ſide, and at the farther extremity, were ſeveral ſmall apartments, in which we contrived to paſs the night.

The barges in which we now embarked were very ſmall, owing to the ſhallowneſs of the river. The officers, aſſembled

* In the Canton jargon, *ſecond chop Engliſhmen*; and even this diſtinction the Americans, I underſtand, have nearly forfeited in the minds of the Chineſe.

here from different parts of the country, detained us a whole day in order to have an opportunity of laying their ſeveral complaints before our phyſician, at the recommendation of *Vanta-gin*, who had felt the good effects of his practice. Here, for once, we had an inſtance of Chineſe pride giving way to ſelf-intereſt, and uſurped ſuperiority condeſcending to aſk advice of barbarians. We ſailed for two days in our little barges, through one of the moſt wild, mountainous, and barren tracts of country that I ever beheld, abounding more in the ſublime and horrible, than in the pictureſque or the beautiful. The lofty ſummits of the mountains ſeemed to touch each other acroſs the river and, at a diſtance, it appeared as if we had to ſail through an arched cavern. The maſſy fragments that had fallen down from time to time, and impeded the navigation, were indications that the paſſage was not altogether free from danger. Five remarkable points of ſand-ſtone rock, riſing in ſucceſſion above each other with perpendicular faces, ſeemed as if they had been hewn out of one ſolid mountain: they were called *ou-ma-tou*, or the five horſes' heads. The mountains at a diſtance on each ſide of the river were covered with pines, the nearer hills with coppice wood, in which the Camellia prevailed; and in the little glens were cluſters of fiſhermen's huts, ſurrounded by ſmall plantations of tobacco.

Within the defile of theſe wild mountains, we obſerved ſeveral extenſive collieries, which were advantageouſly worked by driving levels from the river into their ſides. The coals brought out of the horizontal *adits* were immediately lowered from a pier into veſſels that were ready to receive and tranſport

port them to the potteries of this province, and of *Kiang-ſee*. Coal is little uſed in its raw ſtate, but is firſt charred in large pits that are dug in the ground. Coal duſt, mixed with earth, and formed into ſquare blocks, is frequently uſed to heat their little ſtoves, on which they boil their rice.

At the city of *Tchao-tchoo-foo*, where we arrived on the 13th, we exchanged our flat-bottomed boats for large and commodious yachts, the river being here much increaſed by the confluence of another ſtream. The boats before this city were moſtly managed by young girls, whoſe dreſs conſiſted of a neat white jacket and petticoat and a gipſey ſtraw hat. Having for ſo great a length of time ſcarcely ever ſet our eyes upon a female, except the heads of ſome at a diſtance, peeping from behind the mud walls that ſurround the houſes, or labouring in the grounds of *Kiang-ſee*, the ferry girls, though in reality very plain and coarſe-featured, were conſidered as the moſt beautiful objects that had occurred in the whole journey. To the occupation of ferrying paſſengers over the river it ſeemed they added another, not quite ſo honourable, for which, however, they had not only the conſent and approbation of their parents, but alſo the ſanction of the government, or perhaps, to ſpeak more correctly, of the governing magiſtrates, given in conſideration of their receiving a portion of the wages of proſtitution.

In this mountainous diſtrict a few fiſhermen's huts and thoſe of the colliers were the only habitations that occurred; but the defect of population was abundantly ſupplied by the

number of wooden dwellings that were floating on the river. Small huts, to the number of thirty or forty, were ſometimes erected upon a ſingle floating raft of fir baulks, laſhed together by the ends and the ſides. On theſe rafts the people carry on their trade or occupation, particularly ſuch as work in wood.

Our conductors directed the yachts to halt before a detached rock, riſing with a perpendicular front from the margin of the river to the height of ſeven hundred feet. In this front we obſerved a cavern, before which was a terrace that had been cut out of the rock, acceſſible by a flight of ſteps from the river. Proceeding from the terrace into the cavity of the rock, we aſcended another flight of ſtairs, alſo cut out of ſolid ſtone, which led into a very ſpacious apartment. In the centre of this apartment ſat the goddeſs *Poo-ſa* upon a kind of altar, conſtituting a part of the rock, and hewn into the ſhape of the *Lien-wha* or Nelumbium. A ſmall opening, next the river, admitted a "dim religious light," ſuitable to the ſolemnity of the place, which we were told was a temple conſecrated to *Poo-ſa*, and a monaſtery for the reſidence of a few ſuperannuated prieſts. On the ſmooth ſides of the apartment was inſcribed a multitude of Chineſe verſes, ſome cut into the rock, and others painted upon it. The lodgings of the prieſts were ſmall caves branching out of the large temple. A third flight of ſteps led from this to a ſecond ſtory, which was alſo lighted by a ſmall aperture in front, that was nearly choaked up by an immenſe maſs of ſtalactite that had been formed, and was ſtill increaſing, by the conſtant oozing of water holding in ſolution calcareous matter, and ſuſpended from a projection of the upper part of

of the rock. But the light was ſufficient to diſcover a gigantic image with a Saracen face, who " grinn'd horrible a ghaſtly " ſmile." On his head was a ſort of crown; in one hand he held a naked ſcymeter, and a firebrand in the other; but the hiſtory of this coloſſal divinity ſeemed to be imperfectly known, even to the votaries of *Poo-ſa* themſelves. He had in all probability been a warrior in his day, the Theſeus or the Hercules of China. The cave of the Cumæan Sibyl could not be better ſuited for dealing out the myſterious decrees of fate to the ſuperſtitious multitude, than that of the *Quan-gin-ſhan*, from whence the oracle of future deſtiny, in like manner,

" Horrendas canit ambages, antroque remugit,
" Obſcuris vera involvens."

" The wond'rous truths, involv'd in riddles, gave,
" And furious bellow'd round the gloomy cave."

Lord Macartney obſerved that this ſingular temple brought to his recollection a Franciſcan monaſtery he had ſeen in Portugal, near Cape Roxent, uſually called the *Cork Convent*, " which " is an excavation of conſiderable extent under a hill, divided " into a great number of cells, and fitted up with a church, " ſacriſty, refectory, and every requiſite apartment for the ac- " commodation of the miſerable Cordeliers who burrow in it. " The inſide is entirely lined with cork: the walls, the roofs, " the floors, are covered with cork; the tables, ſeats, chairs, " beds, couches, the furniture of the chapel, the crucifixes, and " every other implement, are all made of cork. The place was " certainly diſmal and comfortleſs to a great degree, but it " wanted the gigantic form, the grim features, the terrific

" aſpect which diſtinguiſh the temple of *Poo-ſa*, in the rock of " *Quan-gin-ſhan*." Diſmal as this gloomy den appeared to be, where a few miſerable beings had voluntarily chained themſelves to a rock, to be gnawed by the vultures of ſuperſtition and fanaticiſm, it is ſtill leſs ſo than an apartment of the Franciſcan convent in Madeira, the walls of which are entirely covered with human ſkulls, and the bones of legs and arms, placed alternately in horizontal rows. A dirty lamp ſuſpended from the ceiling, and conſtantly attended by an old bald-headed friar of the order, to keep the feeble light juſt glimmering in the ſocket, ſerves to ſhew indiſtinctly to ſtrangers this diſguſting *memento mori*. It would be difficult to determine which of the three were the moſt uſeleſs members of ſociety, the monks of *Poo-ſa*, the monks of the Cork convent, or the monks of Golgotha.

In ſeveral places among the wild and romantic mountains through which we were carried on this river, we noticed quarries of great extent, out of which huge ſtones had been cut for ſepulchral monuments, for the arches of bridges, for architraves, for paving the ſtreets, and for various other uſes. To obtain theſe large maſſes, the ſaw is applied at the upper ſurface, and they work down vertically to the length required. Each ſtone is ſhaped and faſhioned to the ſize that may be wanted, before it is removed from the parent rock, by which much difficulty is avoided and leſs power required in conveying it to its deſtination. Rude misſhapen blocks, requiring additional labour for their removal, are never detached from the rock in ſuch a ſtate. In this reſpect they are more provident than the late

late Empreſs of Ruſſia who, at an immenſe expence and with the aid of complicated machinery, cauſed a block of ſtone to be brought to her capital, to ſerve as a pedeſtal for the ſtatue of the Czar Peter, where it was found expedient to reduce it to two-thirds of its original dimenſions.

Between the city of Canton and the firſt pagoda on the bank of the river, there is a continued ſeries of ſimilar quarries, which appear not to have been worked for many years. The regular and formal manner in which the ſtones have been cut away, exhibiting lengthened ſtreets of houſes with quadrangular chambers, in the ſides of which are ſquare holes at equal diſtances, as if intended for the reception of beams; the ſmoothneſs and perfect perpendicularity of the ſides, and the number of detached pillars that are ſcattered over the plain, would juſtify a ſimilar miſtake to that of Mr. Addiſon's Doctor of one of the German univerſities, whom he found at Chateau d'Un in France, carefully meaſuring the free-ſtone quarries at that place, which he had conceived to be the venerable remains of vaſt ſubterranean palaces of great antiquity.

Almoſt all the mountains that occurred in our paſſage through China were of primæval granite, ſome few of ſand-ſtone, and the inferior hills were generally of lime-ſtone, or coarſe grey marble. Except the Ladrone iſlands on the ſouth, and ſome of the *Chu-ſan* iſlands on the eaſt, we obſerved no appearances in the whole country of volcanic productions. The high mountains, indeed, that form great continental chains are ſeldom, if ever, of volcanic formation. The preſence of a

vaſt

vaſt volume of water ſeems to be indiſpenſably neceſſary to carry on this operation of nature and, accordingly, we find that volcanic mountains are generally cloſe to the ſea coaſt, or entirely inſulated. Thus, although a great part of the iſlands on the coaſt of China are volcanic, we met with no trace of ſubterranean heat, either in volcanic products or thermal ſprings, on the whole continent. Yet earthquakes are ſaid to have been frequently felt in all the provinces, but ſlight and of ſhort duration.

About ſeven miles to the ſouthward of the temple in the rock, the mountains abruptly ceaſed, and we entered on a wide extended plain which, to the ſouthward and on each ſide, was terminated only by the horizon. This ſudden tranſition from barrenneſs to fertility, from the ſublime to the beautiful, from irregularity to uniformity, could not fail to pleaſe, as all ſtrong contraſts uſually do. The country was now in a high ſtate of tillage; the chief products were rice, ſugar-canes, and tobacco; and the river was ſo much augmented by the tributary ſtreams of the mountains, which we had juſt left behind, that it was nearly half a mile in width. Canals branched from its two banks in every direction. At the city of *San-ſhwee ſhien*, we obſerved the current of the river receding, being driven back by the flux of the tide.

On the 10th we halted before a village which was juſt within ſight of the ſuburbs of Canton. Here the Embaſſador was met by the Commiſſioners of the Eaſt India Company, whom the Chineſe had allowed to proceed thus far from the factory, and

and to which place the ſervants of the Company are occaſionally permitted to make their parties of pleaſure. In the neighbourhood of this village are extenſive gardens for the ſupply of the city with vegetables. In ſome we obſerved nurſeries for propagating the rare, the beautiful, the curious, or the uſeful plants of the country; which are ſent to Canton for ſale. On this account we were not ſorry to be obliged to ſpend the remainder of the day at this place. Among the choice plants we noticed the large *Peonia* before mentioned, white, red, and variegated; the elegant *Limodorum Tankervilliæ*, and that ſingular plant the *Epidendrum flos aeris*, ſo called from its vegetating without the aſſiſtance of earth or water; the *Hybiſcus mutabilis*, the *Abelmoſchus*, and other ſpecies of this genus; the double variegated *Camellia Japonica*; the great holly-hock; the ſcarlet *amaranthus* and another ſpecies of the ſame genus, and a very elegant *Celoſia* or cock's comb; the *Nerium Oleander*, ſometimes called the Ceylon roſe, and the *Yu-lan*, a ſpecies of magnolia, the flowers of which appear before the leaves burſt from the buds. Of the ſcented plants the *plumeria* and a double flowering jaſmine were the moſt eſteemed. We obſerved alſo in pots the *Ocymum* or ſweet Baſil, *Cloranthus inconſpicuus*, called *Chu-lan*, whoſe leaves are ſometimes mixed with thoſe of tea to give them a peculiar flavour; the *Olea frograns*, or ſweet ſcented olive, ſaid alſo to be uſed for the ſame purpoſe; a ſpecies of myrtle; the much eſteemed *Roſa Sinica*; the *Tuberoſe*; the ſtrong ſcented *Gardenia florida*, improperly called the Cape Jaſmine; the China pink and ſeveral others, to enumerate which would exceed the limits of this work.

Of fruits we noticed a variety of figs, and three ſpecies of mulberries; peaches and almonds; the *Annona* or cuſtard-apple; the *Eugenia Jambos*, or roſe-apple; the much-eſteemed *Lee-tchee* or *Sapindus-edulis;* and the *Kælreuteria*, another ſpecies of the ſame genus; the *Averhoa Carambola*, an excellent fruit for tarts; and the *Ou-long-ſhoo*, the *Sterculia platanifolia*. Beſides theſe were abundance of oranges and bananas.

As vegetables for the table, was a great variety of beans and calavances, among which was the *Dolichos Soja* or ſoy plant, and the *polyſtachios*, with its large cluſters of beautiful ſcarlet flowers; the *Cytiſus Cajan*, whoſe ſeed yields the famous bean-milk, which it is the cuſtom of the Emperor to offer to Embaſſadors on their preſentation; large mild radiſhes, onions, garlick, *Capſicum* or Cayenne-pepper; *convolvulus batatas*, or ſweet potatoes; two ſpecies of tobacco; *Amomum*, or ginger, in great quantities, the root of which they preſerve in ſyrup; *Sinapis*, or muſtard, and the *braſſica orientalis*, from which an oil is expreſſed for the table.

Of plants that were uſeful in the arts, we obſerved the *Rhus Vernix*, or varniſh-tree, and two other ſpecies of the ſame genus; *Curcuma*, or turmeric; *Carthamus* uſed as a dye, and the *polygonum Chinenſe* for the ſame purpoſe; the *Rhapis flabelliformis*, the dried leaves of which are uſed for fans among the common people, and particularly by thoſe who live in veſſels; *Corchorus* whoſe bark, in India, is uſed as flax; but not, I believe, to any extent in China, the white nettle being here preferred.

The

The only medicinal plants were the *Rheum palmatum*, *Artemiſia*, and the *Smilax* or China root.

To make our *entré* into Canton the more ſplendid, a number of ſuperb barges were ſent to meet us, carrying flags and ſtreamers and umbrellas and other inſignia of office; and in ſome were bands of muſic. About the middle of the day we arrived before the factories, which conſtitute a line of buildings in the European ſtyle, extending along the left bank of the river, where the Embaſſador was received by the *Song-too*, or Viceroy, the Governor, the *Ho-poo*, or collector of the cuſtoms, and all the principal officers of the government. From hence we were conducted to the oppoſite ſide of the river, where a temporary building of poles and mats had been prepared for the occaſion; within which was a ſcreen of yellow ſilk bearing the name of the Emperor in gilt characters. Before this ſcreen the Viceroy and other officers performed the uſual proſtrations, in token of gratitude to his imperial Majeſty, for his having vouchſafed us a proſperous journey.

It is but doing juſtice to the Chineſe government and to the individuals in its employ who had any concern in the affairs of the embaſſy, to obſerve, that as far as regarded ourſelves, their conduct was uniformly marked by liberality, attention, and an earneſt deſire to pleaſe. Nor is there any vanity in ſaying that, after obſerving us cloſely in the courſe of a long journey and daily intercourſe, the officers of government gradually diſmiſſed the prejudices imbibed againſt us, as foreigners, from their earlieſt youth. Gained by our frank and open manners, and by little attentions, they ſeemed to fly with pleaſure to our ſociety as a

relief from the tedious formalities they were obliged to aſſume in their official capacity. *Van* and *Chou* conſtantly paſſed the evenings in ſome of our yachts. It is impoſſible to ſpeak of thoſe two worthy men in terms equal to their deſert. Kind, condeſcending, unremitting in their attentions, they never betrayed one moment of ill-humour from the time we entered China till they took their final leave at Canton. Theſe two men were capable of real attachments. They inſiſted on accompanying the Embaſſador on board the Lion, where they took their laſt farewell. At parting they burſt into tears and ſhewed the ſtrongeſt marks of ſenſibility and concern. Their feelings quite overcame them, and they left the Lion ſorrowful and dejected. Early the following morning they ſent on board twenty baſkets of fruit and vegetables, as a farewell token of their remembrance. We had the ſatisfaction to hear, that immediately on their arrival at Pekin they both were promoted. *Chou* is at preſent in a high ſituation at court, but *Van*, the cheerful good-humoured *Van*, has paid the debt of nature, having fallen honourably in the ſervice of his country. On the conduct of *Lee*, our Chineſe interpreter, any praiſe that I could beſtow would be far inadequate to his merit. Fully ſenſible of his perilous ſituation, he never at any one time ſhrunk from his duty. At Macao he took an affectionate leave of his Engliſh friends, with whom, though placed in one of the remoteſt provinces of the empire, he ſtill contrives to correſpond. The Embaſſador, Lord Macartney, has had ſeveral letters from him; the laſt of which is of ſo late a date as March 1802; ſo that his ſenſibility has not been diminiſhed either by time or diſtance.

It is the cuſtom of China to conſider all Embaſſadors as gueſts of the Emperor, from the moment they enter any part of his dominions, until they are again entirely out of them. The inconvenience of this cuſtom was ſeverely felt by us, as it prevented us from purchaſing, in an open manner, many trifling articles that would have been acceptable. The very conſiderable expence, incurred by the court on this account, may be one reaſon for preſcribing the limited time of forty days for all embaſſadors to remain at the capital. To meet the expences of the preſent Embaſſy, *Van-ta-gin* aſſured me, that they were furniſhed with an order to draw on the public treaſuries of the different provinces through which we had to paſs, to the amount of five thouſand ounces of ſilver a-day, or about one thouſand ſix hundred pounds ſterling: and that fifteen hundred ounces a-day had been iſſued out of the treaſury at Pekin for the ſupport of the Embaſſy during its continuance there. Suppoſing then theſe data to be correct, and I ſee no reaſon for calling their authenticity in queſtion, we may form an eſtimate of the whole expence of this Embaſſy to the Chineſe government.

		Oz.
From the 6th of Auguſt (the day we entered the Pei-ho) to the 21ſt (when we arrived in Pekin) incluſive	16 days,	80,000
From the 22d Auguſt to the 6th October (in Pekin and in Gehol)	46 days,	69,000
From the 7th October to the 19th December (when we arrived at Canton)	74 days,	370,000
	Total ounces of ſilver	519,000

Or

Or one hundred and ſeventy-three thouſand pounds ſterling; three Chineſe ounces being equal to one pound ſterling.

It is hardly poſſible that this enormous ſum of money could have been expended on account of the Embaſſy, though I have no doubt of its having been iſſued out of the Imperial treaſury for that purpoſe. One of the miſſionaries informed me, in Pekin, that the Gazette of that capital contained an article ſtating the liberality of the Emperor towards the Engliſh Embaſſador, in his having directed no leſs a ſum than fifteen hundred ounces of ſilver to be applied for the daily expences of the Embaſſy, while ſtationary in the capital and at Gehol. The ſame gentleman made an obſervation, that the great officers of government, as well as thoſe who had the good luck to be appointed to manage the concerns of a foreign embaſſy, conſidered it as one of the beſt wind-falls in the Emperor's gift, the difference between the allowances and the actual expenditure being equivalent to a little fortune.

Van-ta-gin, indeed, explained to us, that although the Imperial warrant was ſigned for thoſe ſums, yet that having a number of offices to paſs through, in all of which it diminiſhed a little, the whole of it was not actually expended on the Embaſſy. He gave to the Embaſſador an excellent illuſtration of the manner in which the Imperial bounty was ſometimes applied. An inundation had ſwept away, the preceding winter, a whole village in the province of *Shan-tung*, ſo ſuddenly, that the inhabitants could ſave nothing but their lives. The Emperor having once lodged at the place immediately ordered

100,000

100,000 ounces of ſilver for their relief, out of which the firſt officer of the treaſury took 20,000, the ſecond 10,000, the third 5,000, and ſo on, till at laſt there remained only 20,000 for the poor ſufferers. So that the boaſted morality of China is pretty much the ſame, when reduced to practice, as that of other countries.

The real expence, however, of the Britiſh Embaſſy, could not have been a trifle, when we conſider what a vaſt multitude of men, horſes, and veſſels were conſtantly employed on the occaſion. *Van-ta-gin* aſſured me, that there were ſeldom fewer than one thouſand men, and frequently many more, employed one way or other in its ſervice; and I am perſuaded he did not intend to exaggerate. In the firſt place, from the mouth of the *Pei-ho* to *Tong-tchoo*, we had forty-one yachts or barges, each on an average, including boatmen, trackers, and ſoldiers, having on board fifteen men; this gives ſix hundred and fifteen men to the boats only. Caterers running about the country to collect proviſions, boatmen to bring them to the ſeveral barges, the conducting officers, and their numerous retinue, are not included in this eſtimate. From *Tong-tchco* near three thouſand men were employed to carry the preſents and baggage, firſt to *Hung-ya-yuen*, beyond Pekin, and then back again to the capital, which took them three days. In our return from *Tong-tchoo* to *Hang-tchoo-foo*, we had a fleet of thirty-veſſels, with ten men at leaſt and, for the greateſt part of the journey, twenty additional trackers to each veſſel; this gives nine hundred people for the yachts alone.

From

From *Hang-tchoo-foo* to *Eu-ſhan-ſhien*, and from *Hang-tchoo-foo* to *Chu-ſan*, there might probably be employed about forty veſſels, with twelve men to each, or four hundred and eighty in the whole. And, beſides the people employed by the officers of government to purchaſe proviſions, numbers were ſtationed in different parts of the rivers to contract the ſtream, by raking together the pebbles where, otherwiſe, the water would have been too ſhallow for the boats to paſs; and others to attend at all the ſluices on the canals to aſſiſt the veſſels in getting through the ſame.

From *Tchang-ſhan-ſhien* to *Eu-ſhan-ſhien*, overland, we had about forty horſes, and three or four hundred men to carry the baggage.

From the *Po-yang* lake to Canton, we had generally about twenty-ſix veſſels with twenty men to each, including boatmen, ſoldiers, and trackers, which gives five hundred and twenty men for theſe alone.

The Embaſſy conſiſted of near one hundred perſons, but as for the ſeveral officers and their numerous retinue of guards, attendants, and runners, I have not the leaſt idea to what their numbers might amount; all of whom, being on extraordinary ſervice, were ſupported at the public expence.

The whole expence of the Embaſſy to this country, including the preſents, did not exceed eighty thouſand pounds; an inconſiderable ſum for ſuch a nation as Great Britain on ſuch an occaſion, and not

not more than a fourth part of what has been generally imagined.

Although the Britiſh factory was in every ſenſe more comfortable than the moſt ſplendid palace that the country afforded, yet it was ſo repugnant to the principles of the government for an Embaſſador to take up his abode in the ſame dwelling with merchants, that it was thought expedient to indulge their notions in this reſpect, and to accept a large houſe in the midſt of a garden, on the oppoſite ſide of the river, which was fitted up and furniſhed with beds in the European manner, with glazed ſaſh windows, and with fire grates ſuitable for burning coals. On our arrival here we found a company of comedians hard at work, in the middle of a piece, which it ſeemed had begun at ſun-riſe; but their ſqualling and their ſhrill and harſh muſic were ſo dreadful, that they were prevailed upon, with difficulty, to break off during dinner, which was ſerved up in a viranda directly oppoſite the theatre.

Next morning, however, about ſun-riſe, they ſet to work afreſh, but at the particular requeſt of the Embaſſador, in which he was joined by the whole ſuite, they were diſcharged, to the no ſmall aſtoniſhment of our Chineſe conductors, who concluded, from this circumſtance, that the Engliſh had very little taſte for elegant amuſements. Players, it ſeems, are here hired by the day and the more inceſſantly they labour, the more they are applauded. They are always ready to begin any one piece out of a liſt of twenty or thirty, that is preſented for the principal viſitor to make his choice.

The nature of the trade carried on by foreign nations at the port of Canton is ſo well known, that it would be ſuperfluous

for me to dwell on that ſubject. The complaints of all nations againſt the extortions practiſed there have been loudly and frequently heard in Europe, but the ſteps that have hitherto been taken have proved unavailing. The common anſwer is, "Why do you come here? We take in exchange your arti-" cles of produce and manufacture, which we really have no " occaſion for, and give you in return our precious tea, which " nature has denied to your country, and yet you are not ſatiſ-" fied. Why do you ſo often viſit a country whoſe cuſtoms you " diſlike? We do not invite you to come among us, but when " you do come, and behave well, we treat you accordingly. " Reſpect then our hoſpitality, but don't pretend to regulate or " reform it." Such is the language held to Europeans by all the petty officers of government with whom they have to deal.

With ſuch ſentiments one cannot be ſurprized that foreign merchants ſhould be received with indifference, if not handled with rudeneſs, and that the fair trader ſhould be liable to extortions. This is ſtill more likely to happen from the complete monopoly of all foreign trade being conſigned to a limited number of merchants, ſeldom, I believe, exceeding eight, who are ſanctioned by government. The cargoes of tin, lead, cotton, opium, and large ſums of Spaniſh dollars, ſent to Canton from Europe, India, and America, all paſs through the hands of theſe Hong merchants, who alſo furniſh the return cargoes. As the capital employed is far beyond any thing of the kind we can conceive in Europe by ſo few individuals, their profits muſt be proportionally great, or they could not be able to bear the expence

expence of the numerous and magnificent preſents which they are expected to make to the ſuperior officers of government at Canton, who, in their turn, find it expedient to divide theſe with the Emperor and his miniſters in the capital. The various toys, automatons, moving and muſical figures from Coxe's muſeum, the mathematical and aſtronomical inſtruments, clocks, watches, machinery, jewellery, all made in London, and now in the different palaces of the Emperor of China, are ſaid to be valued at no leſs a ſum than two millions ſterling, all preſents from Canton. The principal officers of this government are invariably ſent down from Pekin; they arrive poor and, in the courſe of three years, return with immenſe riches. How much of the enormous wealth of *Ho-tchung-tang* came from the ſame quarter it is difficult to ſay, but the great influence he poſſeſſed over the Emperor, and his intimacy with the vice-roy of Canton, who was ſuperſeded in 1793, leave no doubt, that a very conſiderable part of it was drawn from this port. The large pearl, which forms one of the charges preferred againſt him, was a preſent from Canton, of which I have been told a curious hiſtory by a gentleman who was on the ſpot at the time it happened. An Armenian merchant brought this pearl to Canton, in the expectation of making his fortune. Its ſize and beauty ſoon became known and attracted the attention of the officers and the merchants, who paid their daily viſits to the Armenian, offering him prices far inadequate to its value. At length, however, after minute and repeated examinations, a price was agreed upon and a depoſit made, but the Armenian

was to keep poſſeſſion of the pearl till the remaining part of the purchaſe-money ſhould be ready; and in order to obviate any poſſibility of trick, the box in which it was kept was ſealed with the purchaſer's ſeal. Several days elapſed without his hearing any thing further from the Chineſe; and, at length, the time approached when all foreign merchants are ordered down to Macao. The Armenian, in vain, endeavoured to find out the people who had purchaſed his pearl, but he contented himſelf with the reflection that, although he had been diſappointed in the main object of his journey, he ſtill had his property, and that the depoſit was more than ſufficient to defray his expences. On reaching his home, he had no longer any ſcruple in breaking open the ſeal; but his mortification may eaſily be ſuppoſed, on diſcovering that his real pearl had been exchanged for an artificial one, ſo very like as not to be detected but by the moſt critical examination. The daily viſits of theſe people, it ſeems, were for no other purpoſe than to enable them to forge an accurate imitation, which they had dexterouſly ſubſtituted for the real one, when they propoſed the cunning expedient of ſealing the box in which it was incloſed. The Armenians, however, were determined not to be outdone by the Chineſe. A noted character, of the name of *Baboom*, equally well known in Bengal and Madras as in Canton, juſt before his failure in about half a million ſterling, depoſited a valuable caſket of pearls, as he repreſented them, in the hands of one of the *Hong* merchants, as a pledge for a large ſum of money, which, when opened, inſtead of pearls was found to be *a caſket of peas*.

It

It has always been conſidered that a foreigner has little chance of obtaining juſtice at Canton. The import and export duties, which by the law of the country ought to be levied *ad valorem*, are arbitrarily fixed according to the fancy of the collector. And although the court is at all times ready to puniſh, by confiſcation of their property, ſuch as have been guilty of corruption and oppreſſion, yet by accepting their preſents, it ſeems to lend them its encouragement. Beſides, the diſtance from Canton to the metropolis is ſo great, the temptations ſo ſtrong, and the chances of impunity ſo much in their favour, that to be honeſt, when power and opportunity lend their aid to roguery, is a virtue not within the pale of Chineſe morality. A ſtriking inſtance of their peculation appeared in a circumſtance that was connected with the Britiſh Embaſſy. In conſideration of the Hindoſtan having carried preſents for the Emperor, an order was iſſued from Court that ſhe ſhould be exempt from duties at any of the ports where ſhe might take in a cargo. It happened that the Hong merchants had already paid the Hindoſtan's duties with thoſe of the other ſhips, of which her particular ſhare was 30,000 ounces of ſilver. The *Hoo-poo* or collector was therefore requeſted to return this ſum agreeably to the order from court, but he refunded only into Mr. Browne's hands 14,000 dollars, which can be reckoned as little more than 11,000 ounces, obſerving, that ſo much was the exact amount of the Emperor's duties. As in this inſtance of a public nature the collector could not be ſuppoſed to act without circumſpection, we may conclude how very ſmall a proportion of the duties, extorted from foreigners trading to Canton, finds its way into the Imperial treaſury.

Thus

Thus the taxes, which, if we may judge of them from thoſe paid by their own countrymen, are extremely moderate, by the abuſes of the adminiſtration become ſerious grievances to the foreign merchant who, however, has never hitherto employed the only probable mean of obtaining redreſs—that of making himſelf acquainted with the language of the country, ſo as to be able to remonſtrate to the high officers of ſtate, againſt the oppreſſions and impoſitions of thoſe who act in inferior capacities; for, however rapacious and corrupt the firſt in authority may be, his timid nature would ſhrink immediately from a bold, clamorous, and able complainant, who poſſeſſed the means of making his delinquency notorious. This obſervation has been verified by a recent occurrence. A fraudulent ſuppreſſion of a bankruptcy, for which the government ſtood reſponſible, and by which the intereſts of the Eaſt India Company, as well as of ſeveral individuals in India and Canton, would materially have ſuffered, was completely fruſtrated by the ſimple circumſtance of Mr. Drummond, the chief of the factory, ruſhing into the city of Canton, and repeating aloud a few words which he had got by heart whilſt, at the ſame time, he held up a written memorial; the conſequence of which was, that the memorial was immediately carried to the viceroy, and the grievance complained of therein redreſſed. It would have been in vain to convey it through any of the inferior officers or the Hong merchants, as they were all intereſted in keeping it from the knowledge of government.

The ſuppoſed difficulty of acquiring the Chineſe language has hitherto intimidated the reſidents in Canton from making the

the attempt. Satisfied in tranſacting the Company's concerns through the medium of a jargon of broken Engliſh, which all the Hong merchants and even the inferior tradeſmen and mechanics find it worth their while to acquire, they have totally neglected the language, as well as every other branch of information reſpecting the moſt intereſting and extraordinary empire on the face of the globe. The attainment in fact of four or five thouſand characters, which are ſufficient to write clearly and copiouſly on any ſubject, is much leſs difficult than uſually has been imagined, but it would require great attention and unremitting perſeverance, ſuch perhaps as few are willing to beſtow, who are placed in ſituations which enable them to calculate, almoſt to a certainty, on realizing a fixed ſum in a given number of years. The climate may alſo be adverſe to intenſe application, but if the foundation was laid in England, much of the difficulty would thus be obviated. The French, aware of the ſolid advantages that reſult from the knowledge of languages, are at this moment holding out every encouragement to the ſtudy of Chineſe literature; obviouſly not without deſign. They know that the Chineſe character is underſtood from the Gulph of Siam to the Tartarian Sea, and over a very conſiderable part of the great Eaſtern Archipelago; that the Cochin Chineſe, with whom they have already firmly rooted themſelves, uſe no other writing than the pure Chineſe character, which is alſo the caſe with the Japaneſe. It is to be hoped therefore that the Britiſh nation will not neglect the means of being able to meet the French, if neceſſary, even on this ground. The method of accompliſhing this deſirable object appears to be extremely ſimple. If the Directors of the

Eaſt India Company were to make it a rule that no writer ſhould be appointed to China until he had made himſelf acquainted with five hundred or a thouſand characters of the language *, I will be bold to ſay that, where the number ſent out is ſo few (the eſtabliſhment not exceeding twenty) and the emoluments ſo very liberal, there would be as little danger as at preſent, by ſuch a regulation, of the appointments being made out of their own families. The noble Marquis at the head of their affairs in India has eſtabliſhed an inſtitution, which ſeems to bid fair for producing a mutual benefit to the parent ſtate and the native Indians. The exertions of Sir William Jones and a few others had, indeed, long before this, been productive of the happieſt effects; and great numbers, both on the civil and military eſtabliſhments of the Company, made themſelves acquainted, in a certain degree, with the different languages ſpoken in the country. In fact, it became a matter of neceſſity, in order to remove prejudices imbibed againſt us and to meet thoſe of the natives. The Portugueſe and the Dutch adopted a different policy; and, like our reſidents at Canton, communicated only with the natives in a jargon of their own languages. Mr. Thunberg tells a ſtory of a Dutch gentleman, who had reſided as chief of their factory in Japan for fourteen years, during which period he had been four times in the capacity of Embaſſador to the court,

* There are ſeveral good manuſcript Chineſe dictionaries in England; one of which is under publication by Doctor Montucci; who, I underſtand from good authority, by many years of indefatigable application, has ſucceeded in writing the characters with great neatneſs and accuracy; and is well qualified in other reſpects for the undertaking, in which, it is to be hoped, he may meet with ſuitable encouragement.

yet, on being aſked the name of the Emperor of Japan, freely avowed that it had never occurred to him to aſk it. In fact, his grand object was the accumulation of ſo many millions of florins in a given time; in the purſuit of which he had completely loſt ſight of the Emperor of Japan and his millions of ſubjects.

If then, by neglecting to ſtudy the language of the Chineſe, we are ſilly enough to place ourſelves and concerns ſo completely in their power, we are highly deſerving of the extortions and impoſitions ſo loudly complained of. If the trade of London was excluſively veſted in the hands of *eight merchants*, and if the foreigners who viſited its port could neither ſpeak nor write one ſingle word of the language of England, but communicated ſolely on every ſubject with thoſe eight merchants, through a broken jargon ſomewhat reſembling the languages of the ſeveral foreigners, it might fairly be queſtioned, without any diſparagement to the merchants of London, if thoſe foreigners would have leſs reaſon of complaint than the Europeans have who now trade to China? Even as things are, would a Chineſe arriving in England find no ſubject of complaint, no grievances nor vexations at the cuſtom-houſe, which, for want of knowing our language, he might be apt to conſider as extortions and impoſitions? Two years ago two Chineſe miſſionaries landed in England, in their way to the college *de propaganda Fide* at Naples. Each had a ſmall bundle of clothes under his arm and, according to the cuſtom of their country, a fan in his hand. Being obſerved by one of thoſe voracious ſharks who, under the pretext of preventing

frauds on the revenue, plunder unprotected foreigners and convert the booty to their own advantage, the poor fellows were ſtripped by him of the little property they carried in their hands, and were not, without difficulty, allowed to eſcape with the clothes on their backs. Can we blame theſe people for repreſenting us as a barbarous, unfeeling, and inhoſpitable nation, however undeſerving we may be of ſuch a character?

Our caſe at Canton is pretty nearly the ſame as that of the two Chineſe miſſionaries. Every petty officer of the government knows he can practiſe impoſitions on our trade with impunity, becauſe we have not the means of bringing his villainy to the knowledge of his ſuperiors. For, how great ſoever may be the propenſity of the Chineſe people to fraud and extortion, I have little doubt of the juſtice and moderation of the Chineſe government, when the caſe is properly repreſented. A recent circumſtance may be mentioned in ſupport of this opinion. In the year 1801, a ſailor on board his Majeſty's ſhip the Madras fired upon and mortally wounded a Chineſe who was paſſing in a boat. A diſcuſſion, as uſual, took place with the Chineſe government; but it was conducted in a very different manner from what had hitherto been uſual on ſimilar occaſions. Inſtead of entering into any explanation or defence through the medium of the Hong merchants, who tremble at the loweſt officer of government, a memorial was addreſſed to the Viceroy, drawn up in a proper and becoming manner by the preſent Sir George Staunton, the only Engliſhman in the Company's ſervice who was ſkilled in the Chineſe language.

Several

Several converſations were alſo held on the ſubject with the officers of juſtice, from which the Hong merchants were excluded. Captain Dilkes ſetting up a plea of recrimination on the ground of ſome Chineſe having cut his cable with an intent to ſteal it, the government aſſented to have the matter tried in the ſupreme court of juſtice in the city of Canton. By the law of China, if the wounded perſon ſurvive forty days, the ſentence of death is commuted for that of baniſhment into the wilds of Tartary; yet ſo favourably did the court incline to the ſide of the accuſed in this inſtance, that although the time was not expired, and there was little hope of the wounded man recovering, they allowed Captain Dilkes to take the ſeaman into his own cuſtody, requiring only that he ſhould leave in court a written promiſe to produce him in caſe the wounded ſhould not ſurvive the time preſcribed by law. The man lingered near fifty days and then died, upon which a meſſage was ſent by the court, intimating to the Captain, that the court ſaw no impropriety, in this inſtance, in leaving it to him to puniſh the delinquent according to the laws of his own country; thus, for the firſt time, aſſenting to ſet aſide a poſitive law in favour of foreigners. By this proper mode of interference an Engliſh ſubject was ſaved from an unjuſt and ignominious death, which would otherwiſe inevitably have happened, as on all former occaſions of a ſimilar kind, had the affair been left in the hands of men whoſe intereſt it is to repreſent us as barbarians, and who, however well they might be diſpoſed, have not the courage to plead our cauſe. Hitherto the Chineſe have invariably made a point of executing immediately, and without a regular trial, any foreigner who ſhould

kill a Chineſe, or ſome ſubſtitute in the place of the actual criminal, as I have already inſtanced in the ſeventh chapter. One of the moſt intelligent of the Eaſt India Company's ſervants at Canton, ſpeaking on this ſubject, in anſwer to certain queries propoſed to him about the time of the Embaſſy, remarks, "I "cannot help obſerving, that the ſituation of the Company's "ſervants and the trade in general is, in this reſpect, very "dangerous and diſgraceful. It is ſuch that it will be impoſ-"ſible for them to extricate themſelves from the cruel dilemma "a very probable accident may place them in, I will not ſay "with *honour*, but without *infamy*, or expoſing the whole "trade to ruin." Yet we have juſt now ſeen, on the recurrence of ſuch an accident, that by the circumſtance of a direct and immediate communication with the government, the affair was terminated, not only without diſgrace or infamy, but in a way that was honourable to both parties.

CONCLUSION.

I HAVE now gone over moſt of the points relative to which I have been able to recollect the remarks and obſervations which aroſe in my mind during my attendance on this memorable Embaſſy. The compariſons I have made were given with a view of aſſiſting the reader to form in his own mind ſome idea what rank the Chineſe may be conſidered to hold, when meaſured by the ſcale of European nations; but this part is very defective. To have made it complete would require more time and more reading, than at preſent I could command. The conſideration of other objects, thoſe of a political nature, which are of the moſt ſerious importance to our intereſts in China, is more particularly the province of thoſe in a different ſphere, and would, therefore, be improper for me to anticipate or prejudge, by any conjectures of my own. It belongs to other perſons, and perhaps to other times *; but it is to be hoped that the information, reflections, and opinions of the Embaſſador himſelf, may one day be fully communicated to the public, when the preſent objections to it ſhall ceaſe, and the moment arrive (which is probably not very diſtant) that will enable us to act upon the ideas of that nobleman's capacious and enlightened mind, and to prove to the world that the late Embaſſy, by ſhewing the character and dignity of the Britiſh na-

* This was written at the cloſe of the year 1803.

tion in a new and ſplendid light, to a court and people in a great meaſure ignorant of them before, however miſrepreſented by the jealouſy and envy of rivals, or impeded by the counteraction of enemies, has laid an excellent foundation for great future advantages, and done honour to the wiſdom and foreſight of the ſtateſman * who planned the meaſure, and directed its execution.

* The Lord Viſcount Melville.

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